4:Grajdanzev--15-16 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 175, 439

"However, it would be a mistake to overemphasize these uprisings. Life was not easy under the conditions described above, but it was better than in Fukien and a definite development was taking place. Before 1600 hardly a thousand Chinese lived on the island; in the middle of the 18th century there were, according to Luchow, two and a half million. This may be an exaggeration, but it is a fact that at the end of the 19th century there were three million Chinese in Taiwan, engaged mainly in the cultivation of rice and sugar. About four hundred vessels were then plying between Taiwan and the mainland exchanging the produce of the island for that of China and in 1893, for example, 21 million lbs. of tea, 5.3 million lbs. of camphor and 98 million lbs. of sugar were ex-[16]ported. Taiwan rice played an important part in the economy of Fukien, as did oilcake, which was used as fertilizer. Taiwan sugar made up a great part of the sugar consumed in North China, and her camphor was a not unimportant item in China's foreign trade. This brief inventory is very important because it shows that the present-day character of Taiwan is not the creation of its present rulers, but is the result of a long historical process, though the progress under Chinese administration was slow in comparison with later developments."

4:Grajdanzev--24 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 311

"As may be seen from the following figures, the population of Taiwan is very unequally distributed:

Province	Area (sq. km.)	Population (thousands)	Density per sq. km.
Taihoku (N.)	4,594	1,101	240
Sinchiku (N. W.)	4,570	766	167
Taichu (W. center)	7,382	1,251	170
Tainan (W.)	5,421	1,422	262
Takao (S. W.)	5,721	795	139
Taito (S. E.)	3,515	77	22
Karenko (E.)	4,628	124	27
Pescadores	126	68	539
Japan proper (1938)	379,000	72,223	191

Two eastern provinces are comparatively thinly populated, while Taihoku and Tainan have a density greater than the average for Japan. However, the actual distribution is even more unequal than these figures suggest, for almost every province consists of two parts—a coastal plain which is extremely densely populated, and the hilly and the mountainous hinterland where the density is very low. This is not to say that the latter is incapable of development; indeed the development of these areas is one of the greatest problems confronting the government."

4:Grajdanzev--24-25 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-3
116, 162, 168, 656, 177.16 Japan
636.16

"Racial Composition of the Population

Since Taiwan is a colonial territory, it is of more than ordinary interest to study the evolution of the racial composition of its population.

After more than forty years of Japanese domination the island thus remains Chinese in character. In 1938 Chinese made up 94 per cent of the population, while the Japanese, who constituted about 2 per cent of the total in 1905, now made up 5.3 per cent. Presumably this figure does not include Japanese soldiers stationed in Taiwan. At the time of the occupation [25] of the island the Japanese entertained high hopes for Japanese immigration

Racial Composition of The Population of Taiwan (1905-1938)

	Oct. 1, 1905 Census		Oct. 1, 1935 Census		Dec. 31, 1937		Dec. 31, 1938	
	Thousands	%	Thousands	%	Thousands	%	Thousands	%
Chinese	2,979.0	97.8	4,990.1	93.86	5,261.5	93.85	5,392.8	93.88
Japanese	59.6	1.93	271.4	5.12	229.3	5.33	308.8	5.37
Foreigners*	8.2	.27	54.1	1.02	46.2	.82	43.4	.75
Total	3,046.9	100.0	5,315.6	100.0	5,609.0	100.0	5,747.0	100.0

* Almost entirely Chinese who are citizens of the Republic of China.

Note:—For 1935, 1937 and 1938 'Chinese' includes also aborigines, numbering about 140,000.

into Taiwan. Climatic conditions are suitable, the density of the population at that time was relatively low and there was no doubt that the island could support much larger numbers than were there. Subsidies were granted to settlers in general and to fishermen in particular and it was thought that in this way the island would be speedily 'japanized.' The results of the first seven years had already brought disappointment:

	Total Japanese arrivals	Total Japanese departures	Remainder
1898	13,214	3,078	10,136
1899	20,743	7,903	12,840
1900	20,995	11,291	9,704
1901	17,841	14,054	3,787
1902	13,821	11,478	2,343
1903	15,892	13,149	2,743
1904	11,564	12,155	591

After the rush of the first three years, when the Japanese administration of the island was organized and many persons were needed for the governmental apparatus, the number of immigrants fell sharply. As was shown above, the growth of the Japanese population

4:Grajdanzev--24-25 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-3
116, 162, 168, 656, 177.16 Japan
636.16

on the island was not due to immigration alone, but also to natural increase. After subtracting this natural increase, the average annual number of immigrants is only 4,000 to 5,000."

4:Grajdanzev--26 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162

"Below we give births, deaths and natural increase for Japanese and Chinese on the island for the last few years (in absolute figures and rates per thousand of population).

	1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
Japanese	No.	0/00	No.	0/00	No.	0/00	No.	0/00	No.	0/00
Births	7,979	31.1	7,718	29.4	7,999	29.6	7,918	28.1	8,538	28.5
Deaths	2,747	10.7	2,959	11.3	2,951	10.9	2,955	10.5	2,873	9.6
Natural increase	5,232	20.4	4,759	18.1	5,048	18.7	4,963	17.6	5,665	18.9
Chinese										
Births	211,737	45.4	219,189	45.8	225,980	46.1	223,961	44.6	237,090	45.9
Deaths	94,975	20.3	101,270	21.1	102,905	21.0	102,149	20.3	105,199	20.4
Natural increase	116,762	25.1	117,919	24.7	123,075	25.1	121,812	24.3	131,891	25.5

Source: Taiwan Jijo.

Compared with the annual natural increase of the Japanese of 5 to 5.5 thousand, the annual increase of the Chinese is 120 to 130 thousand, or 25 times as great. Even if we include immigration, the Japanese colony is increasing yearly by only 8 or 9 thousand as compared with the Chinese increase of 120 to 130 thousand. Under such conditions there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the population of the island is essentially Chinese in character after forty-five years of Japanese rule and, furthermore, there is no possibility of making it Japanese either through free or subsidized immigration."

4: Grajdanzev--29-30 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 563

"Now let us return to the ratios of births and deaths given in [30] the preceding pages. For 1937 the birth rate for the Chinese was 45.9, for the Japanese 28.5; the death rate for the Chinese was 20.4, for the Japanese 9.6. One possible explanation of this striking difference might be that the age and sex distribution of the Chinese and Japanese on the island is quite different, or that there were more Japanese men than women and that these were represented chiefly by middle-aged groups. But such an explanation breaks down in the face of the facts. There are in Taiwan 111 Japanese males per 100 Japanese females, as compared with 105 Chinese males per 100 Chinese females--too small a difference to account for the difference in birth rates. We have unfortunately no age statistics for Taiwan's population which distinguish between Japanese and Chinese population. However, the following calculation will throw some light on the age composition of the Japanese on the island: in 1937 the Japanese population of Taiwan constituted 0.41 per cent of the population of Japan proper, and Japanese children of school age in Taiwan amounted to 0.393 per cent of the children of school age in Japan proper. The proportion of Japanese juvenile population in Taiwan is therefore almost the same as in Japan. The only possibility of a significant difference in the age structure of the two groups may be that there are proportionately fewer aged Japanese in Taiwan than in Japan, but on the whole the age composition of the population approximates that of Japan."

4:Grajdanzev--30-31 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 162, 165, 171, 563

"The real explanation of the striking difference in birth and death rates is that the Japanese and the Chinese on the island form two separate groups, the living conditions and customs of which are completely different. But the figures reveal more than this. The birth rate of the Japanese in Taiwan is only slightly below that of the Japanese in Japan Proper, while the death rate of the Japanese in Japan is 17.0 (1937) and in Taiwan only 9.6 To some degree this may be explained by the fact that there are a smaller number of aged Japanese on the island, but this alone is not sufficient. It is well known that in the same population different social classes have different death rates. The social composition of the Japanese [31] on the island is such that they are better off than the Japanese in Japan, to say nothing of the Chinese in Taiwan, whose death rate is more than double that of the Japanese. The Japanese on the island live under better sanitary conditions, are better fed, have better medical treatment and more leisure than the masses of the Chinese. This does not mean, of course, that the death rate of the Chinese is stable: it is falling, and this fall, typical of all colonial countries similarly situated, is probably due to improved methods of combatting epidemic diseases.

4:Grajdanzev--30-31 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 162, 165, 171, 563

Death Rates In Some Tropical Colonies
(per thousand)

	1911-13	1921-25	1926-30	1931-35	1937
Taiwan	...	24.0	22.0	20.6	19.3
Palestine	...	23.7	24.3	21.0	15.0 (1938)
Philippines	19.1	18.9	19.7	18.5	18.8
Ceylon	31.8	27.8	25.1	24.7	21.7
Straits Settlements	40.0	28.9	30.7	24.7	21.3

As regards mortality, Taiwan is in about the same position as other colonies, a fact which suggests that living conditions are comparable to those in any other colony named above."

4:Grajdanzev--32-34 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-5
116, 162, 171, 463, 563

"Even in advanced countries occupational statistics are not precise, and in the colonies they are far less reliable. Nevertheless, if one wants to determine only the general characteristics of the population, occupational statistics for Taiwan reveal something. The following table divides the population into such broad categories as 'occupied in agriculture and forestry', 'occupied in industry and mining', etc. The division is given for the whole population and also, for the Chinese and the Japanese separately. The year taken is 1930, because no later figures are available, but it will be shown later that no great changes have taken place since that time. Unlike Korea, where the members of the family who do not take part in work are included in the same occupational group as that of the head of the family, in Taiwan they are registered as having 'no occupation'.

Occupational Statistics For Taiwan, 1930
(in thousands)

	Agriculture and forestry	Fishing	Industry and mining	Trade	Communication	Public serv. & prof.	Others	No Occup.	Total
Japanese	4.4	1.6	15.2	18.1	9.1	37.6	4.5	137.7	228.2
Natives	1,191.7	26.8	144.2	151.0	49.8	37.4	67.6	2,645.1	4,313.6
Total (incl. others)*	1,197.1	28.6	173.6	178.3	63.1	76.0	73.4	2,802.4	4,592.5

* Includes 'foreigners', chiefly Chinese from China proper.

4: Gradjdanzev--32-34 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 162, 171, 463, 563

The same table is given below in percentages, taking the number of those occupied as 100 For the sake of comparison corresponding figures for Japan proper for the same year are given: [33]

Occupational Distribution Of Taiwan
(percentages, 1930)

	Agric. and forestry	Fishing	Industry and mining	Trade	Communications	Public serv. & prof.	Others	Total occupied
Taiwan								
Japanese	4.8	1.8	16.8	20.0	10.1	41.5	5.0	100.0
Natives	71.4	1.6	8.6	9.0	3.0	2.2	4.1	100.0
All, incl. others	67.0	1.6	9.7	10.0	3.5	4.2	4.1	100.0
Japan proper (1930)	47.7	1.8	20.0	15.1	3.7	6.9	4.5	100.0

In a condensed form this table indicates to us the most important problems of Taiwan. Taking the native population, we see that almost three-fourths are occupied in agriculture. Forestry as a rule serves only as subsidiary occupation to agriculture. At the same time only 8.6 per cent are occupied in industry and mining, and this also includes those occupied in domestic industries where the productivity of labor is almost as low as in Chinese agriculture. At the same time there are more persons occupied in trade in the broad sense than in industry (9.0 and 8.6 per cent respectively) while only three per cent are occupied in transportation. This illustrates the low level of economic development of the country. In this respect comparison with Japan is interesting. Only a few decades ago Japan herself was at about the same stage of economic development as China. Now, we see that less than half of her population are engaged in agriculture and 20 per cent in industry and mining.

The occupational statistics prove once more that there are two distinct groups in the population; 41.5 per cent of the Japanese, as compared with only 2.2 per cent for the natives. are occupied in public service and the professions, i.e. they form the backbone of the administrative services of the island. We shall see later that only the lowest positions in these services are open to the Chinese. Almost 17 per cent of the Japanese are occupied in industry, and they occupy all the key positions. About 18 per cent of them are occupied in trade and 10 per cent in communications. Comparison with figures for 1905 indicates furthermore that no substantial changes have taken place since then. [34]

	Agric. and forestry	Industry and mining	Commerce and communic.	Public service	Other occupations
Chinese					
1905	75.5	6.1	8.2	1.4	8.8
1930	73.0	8.6	12.2	2.2	4.1

4:Grajdanzev--32-34 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-4
116, 162, 171, 463, 563

	Agric. and forestry	Industry and mining	Commerce and communic.	Public service	Other occupations
Ja[illegible]nese					
1905	*	23.5	32.5	37.8	6.2
1930	*	16.8	30.1	41.5	11.6

* Included in 'other occupations.'

More than 75 per cent of the Chinese were occupied in agriculture in 1905, and 73 per cent in 1930; there was a slight rise in the number occupied in industry—from 6.1 to 8.6—and a more pronounced increase of those occupied in trade. As is well known, trade is the refuge of the unemployed and under-employed and its rapid growth as compared with other professions is hardly a sign of strength.

In twenty-five years the number of Japanese occupied in government administration rose from 37.8 per cent to 41.5 per cent. The fall in the percentage of those occupied in industry may be due to the fact that in the period from 1896 to 1905 very many Japanese were obsessed with the idea of making money in Taiwan in the shortest possible time. Since then the potentialities of the island have become better known, large business organizations have squeezed out the independent ventures. In any case these figures illustrating the changes in Taiwan in twenty-five years do not show that with the passing of time the occupational composition of the Chinese and of the Japanese of the island tends to become similar. If data were available for each occupation showing how many Japanese

4:Grajdanzev--32-34 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-5
116, 162, 171, 463, 563

and how many Chinese are in important executive positions and how many in subordinate positions, the gap would appear much wider. Unfortunately, direct data are not available, but we shall see later that there is no indication that the division is becoming less sharp.

4:Grajdanzev--38-40 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-4
116, 162, 171

"It was mentioned above that an investigation of Taiwan's population statistics might throw some light on the population of China and that it is strange that demographers have not used the results of the six censuses that were taken on the island. We cannot analyse this question in detail here, but our results will point to some divergences from those obtained by Dr. Buck in his most extensive study of land utilization in China. (1)

1. J. L. Buck, Land Utilization in China, Chicago, 1937.

According to Buck's investigation, the average-sized [39] family in China is 5.3, with 6.3 persons per family in double-cropping rice areas. The following figures show that, contrary to the experience of most countries, the average size of family in Taiwan shows a tendency to grow:

	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
Persons per family:	5.2	5.3	5.2	5.5	5.7	5.8

Whether this increase is due to the improved technique of census-taking or to the change in the definition of family we do not know. If this increase really took place, it may be a symptom of deterioration of standards of living: young people cannot find employment, have no chance to establish their own homes, and are compelled to continue to live with their families.

4: Grajdanzev--38-40 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 162, 171

Besides Taiwan, censuses were taken in Kwantung territory, (of South Manchuria) but they do not have the same value because the sex and age composition of the population there is not normal: many people are settling there without families, and leaving their wives and children in their native villages.

Comparison Of The Sex Ratios Of The Population (Men=100) (2)

2. In this and in the following tables the whole population of Taiwan and of Kwangtung, and not only its Chinese part, is taken, because no separate data are available, but this cannot make a substantial difference for Taiwan because there the Chinese make up 94 per cent of the total population.

	China, acc. to Buck	Taiwan census, 1935	Kwantung census, 1935
Women	92	96	66

It is clear that Kwantung is not normal in this respect, but comparison of Taiwan and China, as recorded by Buck, shows that females were probably underestimated in Buck's investigation: in Taiwan the difference in numbers is not great.

4: Grajdanzev--38-40 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-3
116, 162, 171

Age-Distribution Of The Population
(Percentages)

	China acc. to Buck	Taiwan census, 1935	Kwantung census, 1935
Under 10	25.0	31.1	22.0
10-19	19.3	20.4	19.6
20-29	17.0	17.3	23.6
30-39	13.8	12.3	15.8
40-49	11.4	8.3	9.7
50 and over	13.5	10.9	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

[40] Comparison of these columns shows that in Kwantung territory the age distribution of the population is not normal--there are too few children and too many adults in the age groups between twenty and thirty-nine, and therefore we omit Kwantung from further investigation. But a comparison of China and Taiwan suggests that children were underestimated in Buck's investigation.

Comparison Of Crude Birth And Death Rates (3)

3. The figures for Taiwan are averages for ten years (1927-36), and include the whole population. The corresponding figures for the Chinese population only (five-year average for 1933-38) are as follows: birth rate, 45.8; death rate, 20.6

Birth rates		Death rates	
China (Buck)	Taiwan	China (Buck)	Taiwan
38.3	44.6	27.1	20.7

In Taiwan the death rate is lower and the birth rate higher than in China. The difference in respect of death rates is quite probable because the medical service in Taiwan cannot be compared with the more primitive conditions in China, but the lower birth rate in China is much less probable.

Birth rate per 1,000 married females, between the ages of 15 and 44 years is 207 in Buck's investigation, but for Taiwan in 1935 it is 297—a difference too great to be attributed to chance. All this demonstrates once more the importance of a study of Taiwan's censuses for those who are interested in the demography of China."

4:Grajdanzev--72-73 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 127, 162

"First of all, the total number of those occupied in agriculture should be known. It may be given as the number of families—the easiest and perhaps the best way for certain purposes, because in countries where agriculture is the most important economic activity it is usually the family which works as a unit. Another way is to give the number of active persons occupied in agriculture. This method is good for comparison with the number of persons occupied in other economic fields where the family does not play any part in production, but its application to agriculture encounters certain obstacles: it is not easy to determine the number occupied because some members of the family are only partially employed in agriculture and some only seasonally (e.g. children in harvesting). Finally, the total number of persons dependent on agriculture may be given—farmers and members of their families not occupied elsewhere. Current statistics in Taiwan use the first and the last methods; they give the number of families occupied in agriculture and the 'agricultural population'. The census statistics give the number of persons actively occupied [73] in agriculture or, as it is often expressed, the number gainfully employed in agriculture. Unfortunately, these statistics are not consistent. It was shown above that, according to the census of the population taken in 1930 (the latest in which the question of occupation was asked), 71.4 per cent of the Chinese and 67 per cent of all the population gainfully employed were occupied in agriculture and forestry. But forestry as a principal occupation gives work to very few; it is mostly a sideline occupation for the

4:Grajdanzev--72-73 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 127, 162

farmer, and its part in the economy of Taiwan is very small. If one takes into consideration the fact that the families in rural localities have more children per family than families in the cities, then the 'agricultural population' in Taiwan should constitute about 70 or 75 per cent in 1930. Since that date no revolutionary changes have occurred."

4:Grajdanzev--73-74 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-3
116, 162, 463, 472

"Industry has expanded relatively rapidly, but even in 1935 there were only 67,255 workers in industrial enterprises employing more than four workers each or having a prime-mover. Nevertheless, according to the current official statistics which follow, 'agricultural population' of Taiwan formed only about fifty per cent of the population in 1938.

Changes in Agricultural Population in Taiwan

	1935	1937	1938
Total families (1,000)	897.6	...	...
Families occupied in agriculture (1,000)	419.9	427.4	...
Agricultural families as % of total	46.7	...	...
Total population (1,000)	5,212.4	5,609.0	5,747.0
'Agricultural population' (1,000)	2,790.3	2,880.4	2,896.4
'Agricultural population' as % of total	53.6	51.3	50.4

As early as 1935, according to this table, the families occupied in agriculture made up only 46.7 per cent of the total, while the agricultural population made up 56.3 per cent in that year and only 50.4 per cent in 1938. According to the census statistics, in the 25 years between 1905 and 1930 the Chinese population occupied in agriculture fell only from 75.5 per cent to 73 per cent of the total Chinese population, while the current statistics show a fall of 3.2 per cent (of the total population) in three years. Even before 1935 the number of [74] agricultural families showed a definite lag as compared with the growth of total population, as may be seen from the following table.

Comparison of Changes in Total Population and in Agricultural Families in Taiwan*

Year	Total population (1,000)	Index of growth	Year	Agricultural families (1,000)	Index of growth
1905	3,039.8	100	1903	383.1	100
1925	3,993.4	131	1924	390.2	102
1930	4,592.5	151	1929	407.7	106
1935	5,212.4	171	1935	419.9	109
1937	5,609.0	185	1937	427.4	111
1938	5,747.0	189	1938	424.5	111

*The years given for each category do not always coincide because of absence of data: we have taken the years for which the information could be found.

In thirty-three years the population of Taiwan increased by eighty-nine per cent while on the basis of these figures the number of families engaged in agriculture, increased

4:Grajdanzev--73-74 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-3
116, 162, 463, 472

by only eleven per cent. Such changes are of course quite possible. The agricultural population might send its 'surplus' to cities, where they may find employment in industry, commerce, public services and so on. But as was mentioned already, the number of workers in industry was very small in 1935 and there is no indication that it has increased considerably in the last three or four years. The difference between sixty-five and fifty per cent is, in absolute numbers, about 900,000 persons, or between 500,000 and 550,000 gainfully employed persons--quite a considerable figure for even a great country."

4:Grajdanzev--74-75 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"Let us now consider some indirect evidence. In 1938 the urban population (i.e. of towns and cities having 10.000 and more inhabitants), made up 35.8 per cent of the total and the rural population 64.2 per cent. But in Taiwan, just as in China and Japan, towns with a population of 10,000 to 30,000 are mainly agricultural. Only cities with 50,000 inhabitants and over have few farmers (chiefly producers of vegetables on the outskirts of the city). In 1938 the population of the cities of over 50,000 in Taiwan amounted to 17.2 per cent. Thus [75] there is nothing in these statistics that contradicts our assertion that the agricultural population of Taiwan must amount to at least 65 per cent of total. But if one accepts the official figure of 50 per cent, it means first that there are no farmers in towns and cities with populations above 10,000, and secondly that about one-quarter of the rural population are not farmers, which seems hardly probable."

4:Grajdanzev--75 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 178, 421, 651

"According to official statistics the number of payers of the agricultural land tax increased from 2,099,000 on January 1, 1938, to 2,112,000 on January 1, 1939—an increase of 13,000. How can this increase be explained when the number of families engaged in agriculture fell by 2,900? We must therefore conclude, either that official statistics are inaccurate, or that a rapid proletarization of the agricultural population is going on. It may be—although this is only a hypothesis—that the official statistics do not include sub-tenants, a very numerous class in Taiwan. But whatever the cause, the statistics give a distorted picture of land relations on the island."

4:Grajdanzev--124-125 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 162, 205, 563

"On several occasions it has been pointed out that in Taiwan there are two groups of the population, Japanese and Chinese, with quite different levels of income. Let us compare these.

Use of Communication Facilities by the Japanese and the Chinese in Taiwan in 1938

	Total sent (1,000)		Per capita	
	By Japanese	By Chinese	Japanese	Chinese
Letters etc.	50,879	30,957	165.0	5.7
Parcels	681.2	174.0	2.20	0.032
Telegrams	1,736.2	366.1	5.560	0.068
Telephones	15,510 (units)	6,741 (units)	0.05010	0.00125

Source: Taiwan Jijo, per capita figures calculated.

It is clear that the average used in the table on page 123 are misleading, for the bulk of the letters, parcels, and telegrams are sent by the small group of Japanese living in the island, just as most of the telephones are used by them. On the average a Japanese sends 29 times as many letters, 69 times as many parcels, 82 times as many telegrams and has 40 times as many telephones as does a Chinese. An important [125] part of the letters, telegrams and telephones naturally serve official functions. It is now clear why the net-

4:Grajdanzev--124-125 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-2
116, 162, 205, 563

work of post offices and telegraph offices is growing so slowly--65.4 per cent of all the Japanese on the island live in nine cities and 83 per cent in 57, all of which are well supplied with these facilities."

4:Grajdanzev--191 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 563, 668, 656, 723, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"It was shown in the first chapters of this book that the Japanese on the island form only a very small part of the population of the island. The mass of the population is formed by the Chinese who came to the island from Fukien and Kwangtung. In spite of the Japanese government during the past decades they have remained Chinese in their thought, in their language, religious beliefs, customs, dress. The importance of Taiwan as a base for Japanese aggression is in this respect anomalous. An island where there are more than five million potential (and in some cases actual and active) enemies cannot be considered as a perfect base. Just across the straits lies China, unconquered in spite of four years of war. Underground organizations of Chinese exist on the island, and their representatives in Chungking claim many achievements, including acts of sabotage, open fighting with the Japanese troops by Taiwan guerillas and so on. There is no way to check these claims, because the [Japanese--analyst] Government-General a long time ago turned Taiwan into a news-proof prison, from which no information is available, except that which the Government-General pleases to publish for the benefit of credulous foreigners."

6: Kirchhoff--31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 144, 162, 563

Already, there can be no doubt, the Chinese constitute the larger part of the population, for since the 17th century ever new droves have immigrated from Fu-kien and Kung-tung, and these have greatly increased, owing to the early marriages and the large numbers of children. The vigorous and enterprising tribe of the Hakka, from the latter province, has preserved its individuality on Formosan soil; its members are distinguished by their fine ironwork, and provide the natives with their knife blades and long flints. In North Formosa the Chinese settlers' wide open, sparkling black eyes attract attention, in contrast with the narrow slit eyes of the Chinese which are here quite general, otherwise; this is the result of unions of Chinese immigrants with native Malay women.

An important third element must still be mentioned. This is the Pepo-huan (also called Sek-huan or Schek-huan, i.e. "half savages"). The Pepo-huan are those Formosan Malays who accepted the fate of dependence on the Chinese intruders and gradually became Chinese in customs and outlook, without there being any mixture of blood. Yet they are distinguished physically as well as culturally from free natives living in the mountains (probably as the least numerous of the three elements making up the population of Formosa), the Tsche-huan or Tschin-huan, i.e. "complete savages," as they are called by the Chinese, who greatly fear their passion for hunting Chinese heads.

7: Joest--55 [8]   E-5   (no date) 1882   Formosans
116, 162

There is no reliable information about the number of Chinese inhabitants on the island; in the city of Taiwanfu there are more than 200,000 inhabitants.

8: Chen--441
116, 162, 241

N-3

(no date) 1951

Formosans

TABLE IV--FARM FAMILIES AND SIZE OF FARMS
(*In cha*[a])

DATE	TOTAL	-0.5	0.5-1	1-2	2-3	3-5	5-7	7-10	10-20	20+
Oct. 1920	423,278	127,998	96,933	100,403	45,563	33,342	10,362	5,101	2,997	579
%	100	30.23	22.87	23.72	10.76	7.84	2.43	1.24	0.78	0.13
Apr. 1939	436,593	111,805	90,007	113,117	57,521	41,749	13,129	5,938	2,796	531
%	100	25.61	20.62	25.91	13.17	9.56	3.01	1.36	0.64	0.12

[a] 1 cha = 0.96992 hectare.

8: Chen--441 [2] N-3 (no date) 1951 Formosans
116, 162, 241, 311, 511

"SIZE OF FARMS

The agricultural population of Formosa is constantly increasing, though the percentage has fallen a little. But the area of cultivated land cannot be extended; consequently, the farms are generally very small, as in the provinces of China proper; moreover, the inheritance system breaks up the farms and further reduces the average size. From 1936 to 1945 the total area of cultivated land in Formosa averaged 846,552 hectares, the number of farm families 448,474; thus each farm family had only 1.89 hectares of cultivated land. Although this seems larger than the average farm on the mainland of China, Formosan farm families average 6.7 persons, as compared with 5.4 persons on the mainland.

In 1939 more than 85 per cent of the farm families had less than the three hectares estimated necessary to maintain a comparatively reasonable standard of living (Table IV); and at present, because of the usurpations and annexations of the landlords, about 46 per cent operate farms of less than one hectare, of which 26 per cent are less than 0.5 hectare. The poverty in rural districts and the hard life of farm families are plain. Those who operate farms of more than 10 hectares are less than 1 per cent of the total number of farm families."

9: Yamasaki--225 [6] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 162, 361, 563

The Capsiulan plain is naturally not so heavily populated as the western plain, yet on its fields and meadows the more cultivated Amis, a branch of the Malayan race, enjoy an unclouded existence.

15: U.S. Navy --22-23 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"A first-hand observer, in 1903, stated that there were about 500,000 Hakka people on the island in 1901, most of whom were settled in the Shinchiku area between Byoritsu and [23] Nanto. There were a few settlements southeast of Takao and some on the east coast near Taito. The latest estimate available (1928) placed the number of Hakka at 'about 700,000'. It may be reasonable to assume the present number of Hakka people to be at least 1,000,000.

Villages in which the Hakka element dominates are Koro, Taiko, Gyubato, Gosei, Tokatsukutsu and Rokko."

15: U.S. Navy --23 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 609, 563, 484

"The Cantonese. The people of Cantonese origin have always remained rather distinct and have been considered as foreigners. They numbered 'about 100,000' in 1930. As a group they have become identified with small-scale banking and wholesale trading. They have maintained their contacts with the mainland, and, when travel was possible, many spent part of each year at Canton."

15: U.S. Navy --23 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"The Fukien Chinese. The Formosans whose ancestors came from the Fukien coastal area have settled throughout most of the arable lowlands and foothills. They represent, roughly, three-fourths of the total population and hence through sheer weight of numbers exercise considerable influence in the total economy."

15: U.S. Navy --25 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 191, 177.19 Japanese
636.19

"The percentage of Japanese-speaking Formosans is said to have increased from .4 percent in 1905 to 8.5 percent in 1930, to 37.8 percent by 1937 and to be over 45 percent at the present time.

Table 20: Numbers of Formosan men and women who speak Japanese.

	Men	Women	Total	Percentage of total Formosan population
1905	10,801	469	11,270	.4
1915	50,143	4,194	54,337	1.6
1920	87,897	11,168	99,065	2.9
1930	394,677	70,750	365,427	8.5
1937	---	---	---	37.8
1938	---	---	---	41.9
1939	---	---	---	45.6 "

15: U.S. Navy--31 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 241, 177

"Approximately 53 percent (2,880,410) of the population of Taiwan was engaged in agriculture at the end of 1937. The remaining 47 percent was engaged chiefly in trade and commerce.

In 1937 the number of persons employed in industry had grown to 87,244, an increase which reflects the rapid expansion of industrial enterprise. The distribution of labor was then as follows:

Table 24: Distribution of Labor in Industry

Industry	No. of Persons Employed	Percentage
Food (including sugar and pineapple processing workers)	48,615	55.6
Chemicals	4,988	5.7
Textiles (including hemp processing)	4,000	4.5
Mining	4,214	4.7
'Others'	25,427	29.5
	87,244	100.0"

"The races who share among themselves the whole of the hilly parts and plains of Formosa are three in number:

(I) The Japanese, new-comers, intruders, yet the masters of the island to-day, number about a hundred thousand souls.

(II) The Chinese, owners of the island for more than two centuries, constitute the main part of its population. They call themselves hok-lo (2), viz., 'good' 'plain', and

2. This name is applied by the Khe-lang to other Chinese of Formosa. It seems to take its origin from the fact that when the Hak-kas, persecuted everywhere in the Celestial Empire, arrived at the South of Fokien, they were welcomed there. Henceforth they appear under the name of 'thankfulness' that had been given to them by the inhabitants of that province. This, indeed, did not prevent at all the fact that until the arrival of the Japanese the Khe-lang and Hok-lo were living in continuous shie [sic] with each other. The Hok-lo of southern Fokien, whose dialect, with slight differences, is the same as that spoken in Formosa, call Khe-lang, viz., guests, those, to whom, in the dialect of Canton, in China, is applied the nickname Hak-kas, viz., terrible guests.

this name is applied also to the Chinese born and brought up in the 'Prefecturas' of Chiang-chin, Choan-chin and Anke, in southern Fokien. They number more than two millions. They call Khe-lang their neighbours, who proceed from Canton and the 'Sub-Prefecturas' of Chiau-an and Tin-chiu, likewise situated in Fokien, where their ancestors are still living and their brothers well known under the name of Hak-kas. The terrible civil war that followed the downfall of the Ming Dynasty in China compelled most of the partisans of the Mings to leave their native soil. The Hak-kas, who had suffered most from persecutions, crossed the strait and established themselves in Formosa. At present they constitute the third part of the population of the island. They number about 800,000 souls.

(III) Finally, there are the genuine aborigines, who were masters of the island for many centuries before the Chinese and Japanese made their way from their native countries and reached Formosa. They are divided into two classes, viz., Pepo-huan and Che-huan. The former once occupied the vast plains which at present are inhabited by the Chinese invaders. Subdued by them, the tribes now called Pepo-huan in time adopted not only Chinese fashions, but also the Chinese language. Several northern branches still retain their mother-tongue, the old customs, manners and traditions. But their number is very limited to-day. They are named Che-huan, viz., 'savages' by the Chinese. They are hillmen, with their own peculiar language, and number about 121,500 souls, according to the official report of December, 1910."

31: Hofmann--606[1] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosans
116, 101, 162

In the region of Taikokan I was struck by the fact that the Chinese women did not have crippled feet. From this it is clear that the Chinese living there do not belong to the largest of the tribes, the Hoklos, among whom it is the custom to maim the feet; they belong to the smaller tribe, the Hakkas. It should also be stressed that, while two thirds of the population today is Chinese, there were no Chinese on Formosa until three hundred years ago.

42: Schetelig--388 T-2 (no date) 1868 Formosans
116, 162, 186, 463, 609

The population of Sawo, which is cut off from all communication by land with the rest of the island (except with the Caponlan Plain), is consequently made up of the dregs of the Chinese population. Since agriculture is impossible, they belong to a genus of seaman such as exists only in China, for on occasion they can transform themselves into pirates, shore robbers, camphor wood thieves or mandarin's soldiers, as required. Sawo is a place with an evil reputation even among the Chinese. . . . Shortly after we had arrived camphor agents landed and, although they were extremely polite to us on the surface, they nevertheless looked at us suspiciously for they thought that their secret trade might be unfavorably influenced by us. These persons then stirred up the inhabitants against us and spread the rumor that we were traveling in the interests of a foreign government, the Prussian Government, and they hampered us in all our movements. The web of intrigue that was thrown around us was extremely finely spun, and every day there were new troubles and new affronts; for the Chinese, when he is evil, observes the principle that evil must be profitable to him, or it is not worth the trouble. Finally, after they had tried in vain to starve us out, for we were well supplied, we had to forego water transportation. The boats and junks were hidden from us and we were compelled to travel by land over the ridge of hills to the north to the plain of Caponlan, since we could not leave behind the instruments, etc. Fortunately there were five of us and we were all armed, for among these rogues a single man would have perhaps had a hard time.

42: Schetelig--390 T-2 (no date) 1868 Formosans
116, 162, 578

So, while it is possible to get to know the land in its original form on a journey up the middle course of the Tamsui River...a journey up the southern arm gives one a view of the old, original colonial system of the Chinese on Formosa. First we travel along the road from Tamsui to the southern locality of Taiwanfu, consequently covering well trodden ground. But this region of the western plain was the first that the Chinese developed, after the occupation 200 years ago and, accordingly, it is here that we found Chinese law and Chinese customs in their greatest purity. Worthy of note, at the same time, are the number of Chinese dialects and consequently of Chinese provinces that are represented here. Here the Fokien Chinese live in colonies beside their sworn enemy, the Hakka, from the province of Kwangtiang, and the Hoklo, the sugar-cane cultivator of Swatau, while between them all, hated by all and getting the better of them all, there wanders the sly Cantonese, the merchant, scribe, land owner or camphor agent. We kept on our way in the old fashion and did not unload our baggage until the boats sat motionless on the stone rubble of the rapids. This happened near the old fortress of Tokscham, the possession of a wealthy and influential Chinese family which has been in residence here since the earliest period of Chinese colonization.

103 name of the town of origin. For example, Hsin-pai-kung means new Pai-kung. This case is parallel to that of the Scotch highlanders of Inverness who named their village New Inverness when they emigrated to Georgia. Tongan-ts'o is an example of a place name (Tung-an) with a suffix, which means the hamlet of the people of Tongan, a district on the Mainland. This is also an indication of the character of early settlements of the Chinese in Taiwan. When people moved to a new place, they naturally settled near their kinsmen. If kinsmen were too few, they settled with people from their town. In other words, blood relationship and locality are the principles of social cohesion at a certain stage of social development.

3. Towns of Origin of the Taiwanese.

162 While most Chinese in Formosa came from south China, there is a marked difference in the localities of their towns of origin. According to a survey made by the Japanese colonial government in 1926, of 3,752,000 Formosan Chinese, 83 per cent came from the province of Fukien, 16 per cent came from the province of Kwangtung, and the remaining one per cent were from other provinces. The Fukienese who comprised 83 per cent of the total may be further broken up as follows: 45 per cent from the prefecture of Chuanchow (Ch'üan-chou), 35 per cent from the prefecture of Changchow (Chang-chou), and three per cent from other prefectures. People from Chuanchow (45 per cent), people from Changchow (35 per cent), and Cantonese (the so-called Hakka) (16 per cent) are the three main groups.

AD1

162 Emigrants from Chuanchow came earliest, occupied the best places of the western plain, and engaged in commerce, trade and agriculture. The Hakkas came last. When they came, the most fertile soil of the plain was already claimed, so they had to settle in hilly places or mountain foothills. They mostly engaged in agriculture. People from Changchow came between these two in point of time, and also settled between the two in actual geographic regions. They engaged in commerce and agriculture. Hakka and Fukienese have different dialects; and even among the Fukienese, those from the prefecture of Chuanchow and those from the prefecture of Changchow speak with a different accent. The three groups have different patron gods, different associations, and have fought against each other in sanguinary wars. In daily contact, the same native town means higher affinity, higher consciousness of kind. Marriage takes place more frequently among people from the same original native town.

4. The Clan Village.

167 The Chinese seldom leave their ancestral shrines and graves behind them when they go abroad. Pressed by hard living conditions, one male member of the family may leave home for overseas, but the whole family seldom moves to a new place. Many came to Formosa only for a longer or shorter time, and having accumulated sufficient money, went back to their ancestral towns. Even if they settled permanently in the new land, they still kept an intimate contact with their kinsfolk in the old home town. This relationship was broken by the

B. FORMOSA'S ROLE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

175 With a view to the maximum utilization of the manpower in Formosa, the Japanese administration took a census of Formosa's population every five years, beginning in 1920. [162] The population totalled 5,872,084 in 1950; the number of males between the ages of 19 and 40 was estimated to be over 928,000.[47] The invasion of China by Japan was resumed in 1937, and war in the Pacific broke out in 1941. Despite their efforts at assimilation, the Japanese in Formosa exercised great caution in mobilizing the vast reservoir of manpower available in Formosa. Until 1942, no Formosan was allowed to own or harbor firearms of any kind. In June 1942, the Japanese imperial government called for voluntary military service. Japanese sources[48] claimed that hundreds of thousands of Formosan Chinese had registered, but because the Japanese would not trust the latter with arms, only a few hundred were accepted for training. It was not until February 1944 that the Japanese granted the first army commission to a Formosan Chinese, who was a sublieutenant in the Army medical service.

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47. Chen Cheng-hsiang, "Taiwan Chih Jen-kou" ["The Population of Taiwan"], Taiwan Yin-hang Chi Kan [Bank of Taiwan Quarterly], Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1951, p. 47-49.

48. Tokyo, Domei English broadcast, Jan. 11, 1943.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph lc,
Sociological Background

POPULATION OF FORMOSA

I. INTRODUCTION

161 The population of Formosa [Taiwan] in 1955 is estimated[1] at about 10,400,000, including about 7,500,000 Formosa-born Chinese (hereafter Formosan Chinese, as distinguished from Mainland Chinese), about 2,000,000 Chinese civilians from the Mainland, 700,000 military personnel and troops, and about 200,000 non-Chinese tribes of aborigines. The latter are composed of seven linguistically distinct tribes believed to have come originally from Malaya, the Philippines, New Guinea, and Kwangtung Province. The Formosan Chinese are descendants of Mainland Chinese who migrated from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces chiefly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

II. ETHNIC GROUPS

162 563 The population of Formosa may be divided into two distinct ethnic groups: the aborigines and the Chinese.

A. Aborigines

Prior to 1600, Formosa was sparsely populated by so-called aborigines, referred to by the Japanese as "savages" and by the Chinese government as "mountain tribes" or "brethren of the mountains," whose habitations ranged

[Footnote 1 next page.]

162 563 over most of the island. However, an increasing number of Chinese immigrants, with their superior civilization, pushed these natives into mountainous areas and thereafter occupied the fertile lowlands of the island.

563 105 According to language, custom, and physical characteristics, the aborigines are commonly divided into seven tribes: Taiyal, Saiset, Bunun, Ami, Paiwan, Tsou, and Yami. Although physical characteristics may vary, they are generally brave warriors and can run long distance or climb steep mountains and cross swift streams with skill and speed. Their short stature, light-brown skin, and straight black hair, as well as their language and customs, suggest a close resemblance to the Malays of the South Seas. They are independent in nature, passionate in temperament, and show respect for the aged and love for the young. They live in villages and build huts made of wood and stones. Some 70,000 aborigines are called Pepohuan, meaning assimilated savages. Their customs and activities are similar to those of the Formosan Chinese who had assimilated them in the lowlands. Tribesmen who were not able to bear the economic and cultural pressures exerted upon them fled to the mountainous interior.

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1. This estimate is the result of reconciling various estimates offered by writers on Formosa's population. The analyses in this chapter, however, will be based on the total registered population because the household registry system provides the only statistics available on the population. The total registered population in 1953 was 8,438,016.

161 The accompanying figure shows that the most heavily populated areas lie in the Taipei Basin and in the plains of Taichung and Tainan. In 1953, Taipei City had a density of 3,600 persons per square mile; the density for Kaohsiung was 1,100. The least-populated hsien of Taitung has only 12 persons per square mile.[4]

IV. COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

A. Age Composition

162 Formosa's average population is young. As of 1953, population under the age of fifteen comprised 42.2 per cent of the total and those under forty years of age comprised 82 per cent of the total.[5] Old people have never made up a large share of the population. Improved medical facilities in the past decades have reduced infant mortality and helped to maintain the youthfulness of the population. The birth rate has been constantly high. The changes in age composition for the last twenty years are shown in Table 2. An age structure of this sort is costly to society; there are few to support many -- as was the case in 1953, when each group of one hundred persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four, the most productive working years, had to support eighty others, although not necessarily all of the hundred were employed.[6]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] United Nations, Statistical Office, Demographic Yearbook, 1954, New York, 1954, p. 127.

[6] Ibid.

162 In contrast, the corresponding ratio[7] for Japan in 1950 was 68, for the United States 55, and for Sweden 36. Attempts to reduce this burden of dependency include encouraging the youngsters to work as soon as they are physically able and requiring them to forgo the training that would make their efforts more productive. Society must shoulder responsibility for the education and care of the younger population.

[See following page for Table 2.]

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[7] George Barclay, A Report on Taiwan's Population to JCRR, Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 50.

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45:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 ~~AD 1~~ AD 1 Formosa
AD1

Table 2. Population By Age and Percentage in Each Age Group. */

Age	1930	1940	1950	1953
		A. Population (in thousands)		
0-14 years	1,767	2,432	3,129	3,524
15-39 "	1,684	2,057	3,075	3,274
40-64 "	756	870	1,161	1,279
65 and over	107	151	189	206
Total	4,314	5,510	7,554	8,284 */
		B. Percentage by Age Group		
0--14 years	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15-39 "	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40-64 "	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[Footnotes next page.]

The age-sex pyramid of Formosa's population reveals that fertility is extremely high today and mortality was high in the past. A comparison of the 1953 and 1954 pyramid shows that fertility has increased in recent years. This should not be interpreted as a post-war phenomenon, but should be attributed to the gradual improvement of health conditions and medical facilities. The crude rate of birth has remained over 40 per thousand for most of the last fifty years. There has been a drastic reduction in infant[8] mortality in recent years -- 135.5 in 1940 and 35.3 in 1952. These facts will probably keep the population "young" for a long time to come.

B. Sex Composition

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*/ For 1930 and 1940, data are for Taiwanese; for 1950, figures represent the total registered population as taken from George Barclay, A Report on Taiwan's Population, Taipei, JCRR, 1954, p. 48, in which figures for 1930 and 1940 are taken from respective census reports and figures for 1950 are from Taiwan Province, Statistical Abstract, Twelfth Period, Taipei, 1951; 1953, from United Nation, Statistical Office, Demographic Yearbook, 1954, New York, 1954, p. 127.

+/ This figure derived from another source does not correspond with the figures for total registered population given earlier. The discrepancy may be due to the exclusion of foreigners and other groups.

[8] United Nations, Statistical Office, Demographic Yearbook, 1953, New York, 1953, pp. 220-21.

162 In Formosa, there are 105 males to every 100 females.[9] In 1940 when the population was more permanently settled, the ratio[10] was 102 to 100 females. The many male immigrants who came in after the war probably account for the present sex ratio.

C. Urban and Rural Population

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167 Urbanization has increased rapidly in the past few decades. In 1920, four per cent of the population lived in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants; in 1952, the number in such cities had increased to 21 per cent. Economic development in the last years of Japanese control and in the current postwar years, and the influx of Mainland people in the late 1940's and early 1950's, have contributed to growth in urban population. The preponderance of agricultural population has become less pronounced, and the high degree of ethnic and cultural homogeneity has been diminishing.

The majority of young people come to the cities with the hope of finding jobs; immigrants from the Mainland are mostly non-farmers and therefore flock to the cities; and most wives follow their husbands to the cities.

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[9] China News Press, Chung-hua Nien-pao, 1954 [China Annual, 1954], Vol. III, Taipei, 1954, p. 78.

[10] Provincial Government of Taiwan, Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, 1940, Taipei, 1953, p. 40.

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45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD 1 Formosa
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Table 3. Percentage Distribution of the Total Population in Communities by Size 1920-1952 [*]

Year	Under 20,000	20,000 30,000	30,000 40,000	40,000 100,000	100,000 or more	Others [+]
1920	75	11	5	3	4	1
1930	59	22	2	8	5	3
1940	36	34	7	8	12	2
1952	23	25	17	12	21	2

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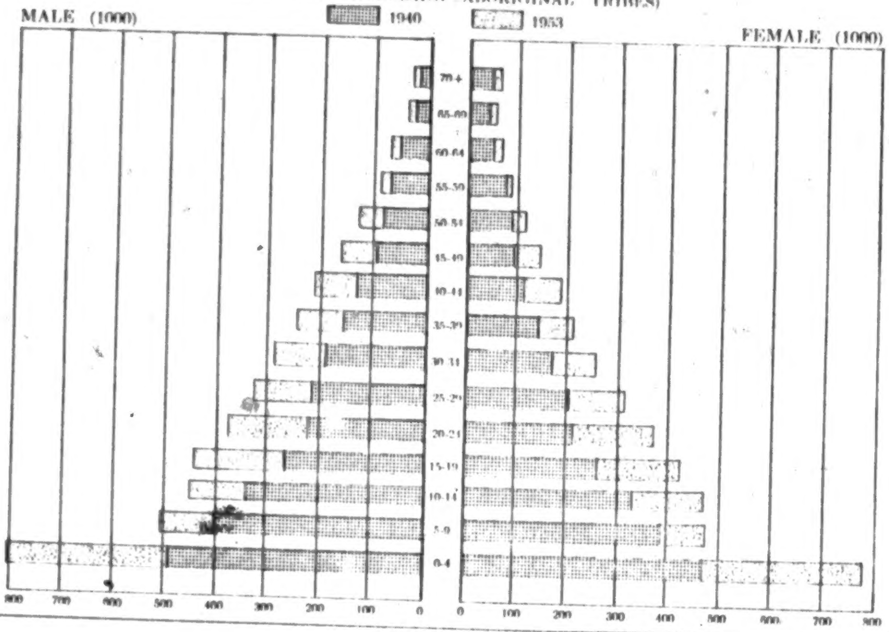
[*] Arranged from governmental reports of each census, as quoted in Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Taipei, Foreign Operations Administration and National Taiwan University, 1954, p. 255.

[+] Aborigines and boat dwellers.

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa AD1

AGE PYRAMID OF FORMOSA'S POPULATION
(1953 NOT INCLUDING ABORIGINAL TRIBES)



A

C

B B

Reduce AB to CB

[Facing p. 77]

1: Stanford U. S-4,5 1956 AD1 Formosa AD1

D. Occupational Composition

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.162 In 1953, of 5,400,000 people more than twelve years of age, 1,800,000 were engaged in agriculture, 23,000 were in industry, and 460,000 were students. There were 2,000,000 people without formal occupation, but most of them (1,700,000) were housewives. Agriculture is the most predominant occupation although the proportion of agricultural workers to the total working population has declined gradually during the last forty years. From 1915 to 1940, the proportion of farmers in relation to the total working population decreased from 70.1 per cent to 62.4 per cent;[11] the percentage for 1953 was 53. For detailed breakdown, see Table 4.

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[11] T'ai-wan-sheng Wu-shih-i-nien-lai T'ung-chi T'i-yao [Statistical Summary of Taiwan for the Past Fifty-one Years], Taipei, Provincial Government of Taiwan, 1946, pp. 130-38; See also Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, 1940, Taipei, 1953, pp. 68-69.

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162

Table 4. Population by Occupation */

	Population	Male	Female
Over 12 yrs. of age	5,422,044	2,777,938	2,644,106
Agriculture	1,811,767	1,277,139	534,628
Mining	36,659	32,786	3,873
Industry	232 ,873	207,752	26,121
Commerce	251,230	231,866	19,364
Transportation	68,196	65,480	2,716
Public Service	119,728	109,489	10,239
Professionals	74,644	57,925	16,729
Service Industry	225,969	168,181	57,788
No Occupation **/	2,005,777	219,851	1, 785,886
Student	462,469	291, 971	170,498
Military Service x/	58,967	57,563	1,404
Others	72,805	57,935	14,870
Under 12 yrs. of age	3,015,972	1,548,700	1,467,202
Current total y/	8,438,016	4,326,708	4,111,308

~~AD 1~~ 45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD 1 Formosa
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E. Marital Status

162 A great proportion of the people 15 years old or more are married. The rate of divorce in Formosa is low, about 0.45 per 1,000 population as compared with 2.48 for the United States.[12]

Table 5. Marital Status of Population 15 Years Old and Over - 1953 */

	Number	Percentage
Single	1,447,803	30
Married	2,966,356	62
Widowed	388,191	8
Divorced	30,508	-
Total	4,832,858	100

*/ China News Press, Chung-hua Nien-pao 1954 [China Annual, 1954], p. 77.

F. Educational Status

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87 Forty-five per cent of the total population know how to read and write. If children under six years are excluded, the percentage of literacy rises to 59 per cent. Over 90 per cent of the children from six to twelve years of age now attend primary schools; primary education is compulsory. Because many illiterate people are over school age, a literacy movement as well as other types of adult education are being promoted. A detailed breakdown of the educational status of the population is shown in Table 6.

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[12] United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1953, pp. 276-77.

546 178 shipping have resulted in further division of extended families and at the same time have given women more opportunity for employment outside the household. There is a great deal of evidence that extended families are separating to form smaller and less-inclusive units. [162] In 1812, the average household consisted of 8.3 persons;[7] in 1953, the average household had 5.5 persons.[8] In a survey conducted by the Foreign Operations Administration's Mutual Security Mission to China, the composition of urban households was characterized by a relatively large proportion of legal households consisting of a single person, and such households accounted for more than 9 per cent of the total.[9]

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[7] Yoshinori Ino, Taiwan bunkashi, Vol. II [The Records of the Culture of Taiwan], Tokyo Toko shoyin, 1928, p. 238.

[8] Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955, Taipei, Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts, and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 1955, p. 27.

[9] A. F. Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Taipei, Foreign Operations Administration and National Taiwan University, 1954, p. 261.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h, Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES, PATTERNS OF LIVING, AND FOLK BELIEFS

162 Nearly 98 per cent of the population on Formosa today are Chinese. Of this number, approximately one-fifth have come to Formosa from the Mainland since 1945. Of the remaining four-fifths, the majority are descendants of early settlers who migrated to the island from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces between 1600 and 1895. Non-Chinese aborigines make up about 2 per cent of the present population. Social values and the major patterns of living on Formosa are derived from the Chinese, in spite of the efforts of the Japanese to sever the ties between the Mainland and Formosa during a half-century of rule. Even the official promotion of Shintoism did not destroy the customs and traditions of either the aborigines or the Chinese on Formosa. The restoration of Formosa to China in 1945, followed by the influx of some two million Chinese from the Mainland, has further strengthened ties with the mother country.

A01

Annex "A," Subparagraph lm,
Sociological Background

LABOR

I. MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF LABOR

162 Composition of the Working Population. Owing to efforts to accelerate industrial development during the latter years of Japanese occupation, the proportion of agricultural workers to the total working population in Formosa gradually declined. From 1915 to 1940, the proportion of farmers in relations to the total working force decreased from 70.1 per cent to 62.4 per cent.[1] Since the restoration of the island to China, special emphasis has been placed on intensive industrialization by the government with the co-operation of the American Mutual Security Mission to China. This development has inevitably led to increasing activities in manufacturing, construction, etc., resulting in a gradual decrease in the agricultural population.

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[1] Provincial Government of Taiwan, Statistical Summary of Taiwan Province for the Past Fifty-one Years, Taipei, 1946, pp. 139-38; and Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, Taipei, 1953, pp. 68-69.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a",
Economic Background

LAND REFORM

I. LAND TENURE BEFORE REFORM

423 162 For many years the most crucial problem confronting Formosa, as is the case with most countries on the continent of Asia, has been that of too many farmers and not enough land. There has been an enormous growth of population in the past half-century. For lack of industrial development, over 51.93 per cent of the total population in Formosa is engaged in farming.[1] The agricultural [[16]] population grew[2] from 3,318,235 in 1944 to 4,381,816 in 1953. Only 24.7 per cent of the land in Formosa is arable.[3] As is always the

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[1] Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook, 1954 Edition, compiled by the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Taipei, October 1954, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 25.

[3] Ibid., p. 8. The total area of Taiwan Province, including the Pescadores and adjacent small islands, is 3,707,658 chia (or 35,961 square kilometers) and the total area of public and private cultivated land is 903,273 chia (or 8,082 square kilometers) in 1953. (Chia is the unit of measurement of land on Formosa; one chia is equal to .9699 hectare or 2.3968 acres.)

423 case in heavily populated countries with limited
162 land, very little land is offered for sale. The majority of the farmers are tenants. When the population grows larger the competition becomes keener. Consequently, the landlords are able to impose high rentals and other harsh terms. As time goes on, the landlords grow progressively richer and the tenants progessively poorer. The general poverty from which the poor peasants are unable to lift themselves is the primary cause of social unrest. Before the land reform programs were launched at the end of 1948, the distribution of tenure among the agricultural population in Formosa was as tabulated below.[4]

	Number of Farm Families	Percentage
Owner-cultivators	211,649	35
Part-owners	154,460	26
Tenants	231,224	39
Total	597,333	100

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[4] Ibid., p. 24.

403 162 The foregoing tabulation shows that tenants and part-tenants who own no land, or only part of the land they till, constituted 65 per cent of the farm population, and only 35 per cent were independent farmers. The scarcity of land coupled with inequitable distribution led to the continued exploitation of the tenant farmer by the landlord.

427 Prior to 1949 the land rental averaged 50 per cent of the total yield per annum; in some cases more. In Taichung and Hsinchu there were instances where the tenants paid to the landlords 70 per cent of their annual harvest. In addition to the high rental, the tenants often were required to pay the landlord a large rent deposit. Then there was uncertainty of tenure. In most cases there was no written lease. Even when there was a written contract, the period of lease generally covered only one to two years, or was not definitely stated. This left the landlord free to terminate the lease at will. Since the dispossessed tenant was not entitled to any compensation, the resulting hardship could be easily imagined. The need for reform was evidently urgent.

II. LAND REFORM

423 Land reform for the sake of social justice was advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen,

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a, Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

241 Formosa's economy is predominantly
162 agricultural. Household registration in 1950
434 indicates that of a gainfully employed male
population of 2.1 million, roughly 57 per cent
were farmers.[1] The Taiwan Agricultural
Yearbook reports that about 52 per cent of
the total population in 1953 were directly
dependent on agriculture for a living.[2]
Approximately 49 per cent of the total national
income in 1951 was derived from agriculture.[3]

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[1] George W. Barclay, A Report on Taiwan's Population, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 59.

[2] Provincial Government of Taiwan, Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook, 1954, Taipei, 1954, p. 1.

[3] Industrial Development Commission, Economic Stabilization Board, Industry of Free China, November 1954, Vol. 2, No. 5, Taipei, p. 7. Agriculture is defined to mean all productive activities involved in farming, livestock-raising, forestry, and fisheries.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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[162]

241 434 The importance of agriculture to the national economy is made more obvious by the fact that a large percentage of Formosan industries involve the processing and transporting of agricultural commodities. Agriculture products also provide an important source of foreign exchange for the island. In 1953, total [163] exports amounted to approximately US$130,000,000, of which over 90 per cent was derived from the export of agricultural products.

241 The climate in Formosa is eminently suitable for agricultural production. The tropical and sub-tropical atmosphere and abundant rainfall in most parts of the island encourage the cultivation of rice, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, tea, bananas, and vegetables. Rice cultivation is carried on in all parts of the island; sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and peanut are grown in the central and southern sections; tea is cultivated in the northern districts.

648 241 During the Japanese occupation of Formosa, the policy of economic development was geared to the economic needs of the Japanese Empire. When a shortage of rice was felt in Japan, rice was produced in

161 increased one and a quarter times⁽⁷⁾. What is the reason for the remarkable contrast between these two islands? It is an interesting and significant problem, and the analysis contained in this paper should shed some light on it.

II. POPULATION GROWTH IN TAIWAN

162 3. *Ethnic Composition of Taiwan's Population.*

As soon as the Japanese occupied Taiwan, they started a survey of the population, and as early as 1896 there were population figures of the whole island. Though the figure was not accurate enough, it was not incompatible with figures obtained by the first census in 1905, and we can say the survey was fairly dependable. In October, 1905, the first census was taken, and an accurate figure of total population was obtained for the first time. The total population was 3,123 thousand, 94% of it was Taiwanese (that is Chinese in Taiwan, transfered to Japan by the Manchurian government), 0.26% was the mainlander (that is Chinese who came to Taiwan after the Japanese occupation, and who were treated as overseas Chinese by the colonial government), 3.62% was aborigine, 1.90% was Japanese. The total population of Taiwan from 1896 to 1943 by ethnic stocks is given in table 1. During this period, the proportion of Taiwanese was always more than 90%.

Table 1, A: Taiwan's Total Population and its Ethnic Composition, 1896-1943.

Year	Total	Taiwanese	Mainlander	Aborigine			Japanese	Korean	Other Foreigners	Taiwanese Computing Population	Taiwanese Static Population	Total Computing Population
				Total	Living off Reservations	Living on Reservations						
Column	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1896	2,587,688	2,577,194					10,584					
1900	2,846,108	2,707,322	5,160	95,597			37,954		75			
1904	3,079,[illegible]92	2,915,964	5,917	104,334			53,365		92			
1905	3,123,302	2,942,266	8,223	113,195	36,752	76,443	59,618			2,979,018	3,055,461	3,046,859
1910	3,299,493	3,064,499	14,840	122,106	41,724	80,382	98,048			3,106,223	3,186,605	3,219,111
1920	3,757,838	3,436,071	24,836	130,310	45,762	84,548	166,621			3,481,833	3,566,381	3,673,290
1930	4,679,066	4,259,523	46,691	140,553	54,399	86,154	232,299			4,313,922	4,400,076	4,592,912
1940	6,077,478	5,523,912	46,190	158,321	62,386	95,935	346,663	2,299	93	5,586,298	5,682,233	5,981,543
1942	6,427,932	5,827,857	50,429	162,031	63,991	98,040	384,847	2,692	76	5,891,848	5,989,888	6,329,892
1943	6,585,841		52,020			100,397	397,090	2,775	89	6,033,470	6,133,867	6,485,444

Figures of 1905-1930, column 3 included the figures of other foreigners (col. 9). Before 1930, Korean (col. 8) was included in Japanese (col. 7).

Data: 1986-1904, from 13, No. 8: Table 31; 1905 after, from 14.
Column 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11 from 14: Table 45; Col. 2=11-4; Col. 4, from 14: Table 53; Col. 5=4-6; Col. 6=11-10 (The figures of Col. 5 and 6 can be found in "Household Registration of the Aborigines", published by Government-General). Col. 10, 12, from 14: Table 96.

Note 2: BAKER, J. E.: The Balance between Population and Production. Pub. by Chinese Association for the United Nations, 1951, 48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 ADl Formosa ADl

The population figures of Taiwan are sometimes confusing. Often we can find different figures of total population or Taiwanese population for the same year. This table will clear up the confusion. From the administratrative point of view, those people living in Taiwan and with Japanese nationality were registered as Taiwanese. This is the figure of col. 11; in fact, it is the total of Taiwanese and aborigines (11=2+4). The figure of Taiwanese (excluding aborigines) was enumerated in earlier statistical records, but was dropped out after 1905. Strictly speaking, the figure of Taiwanese in col. 2 still included some acculturated aborigines. In the seventh census of 1940 for instance, the number of acculturated aborigines was 58,160. Though the larger part of the aborigines were living in the reservations, some of them were living outside of the reservations. The former were comparatively backward, and their vital statistics were rather incomplete, and thus were omited from vital statistics. According to the inclusion or exclusion of aborigines living in reservations (col. 6), there are two kinds of population totals: when col. 6 is included, it is the total static population (col. 1); when col. 6 is excluded, it is the total computing population (col. 12). As aborigines were included in Taiwanese population in statistical records, there are also two kinds of totals for Taiwanese population: when col. 6 is included, it is the Taiwanese static population (col. 11); when col. 6 is excluded, it is the Taiwanese computing population (col. 10). 162

Table 1, B: Index of Increase of Taiwan's Total Population and its Main Ethnic Groups, 1896-1943.

	Total		Taiwanese		Mainlander	Aborigines			Japanese	
						Total	Off Reservation	On Reservation		
1896	100.00		100.00						100.00	
1900	109.98		105.06		100.00	100.00			358.59	
1904	119.01		113.14		114.67	109.13			504.20	
1905	120.69	100.00	114.16	100.00	159.36	118.40	100.00	100.00	563.28	100.00
1910	127.50	105.64	118.91	104.15	287.59	127.72	113.52	106.15	926.37	164.46
1920	145.21	120.31	133.33	116.78	481.31	136.31	124.51	110.60	1,574.27	279.48
1930	180.82	149.81	165.28	144.77	904.86	147.02	148.01	112.70	2,194.81	389.64
1940	234.86	194.58	214.34	187.74	895.15	165.61	169.74	125.49	3,275.34	581.47
1942	248.40	205.80	226.13	198.07	977.30	169.49	174.11	128.25	3,636.12	645.52
1943	254.50	210.86			1,008.13			131.33	3,751.79	666.05

4. *Population Growth.*

The population growth of the half century under Japanese occupation was tremendous. 161 The total population during the 48 years from 1895 to 1943 increased one and a half times, increased 1.1 times during the 39 years from 1905 to 1943. The increase of Taiwanese population during the 47 years from 1896 to 1942 was 1.26 ~~times~~ and almost doubled during the 38 years from 1905 to 1942 (cf. Table 1, B). A comparision with

161 178 was much promoted by it. Prevention of malaria was successful to a large extent, the activities of preventive hygiene being started by the 1930's. There was reduction in the number of cases of diarrhea, enteritis, and tuberculosis. Infant mortality began to decline. The birth rate rose to a peak, the death rate declined again, and the fluctuations became fewer and of lesser extent. The rate of natural increase attained a peak of 24 per 1,000. Age composion changed, the proportion of infants and children increased markedly.

Fifth Period (1941–1943): The value of industrial products exceeded the value of agricultural products, and the quick tempo of urbanization began. The birth rate began to decline, and death rate continued to drop, to around 18 per 1,000; the rate of natural increase declined slightly. Infant mortality declined further. In comparision with 1906, the average expectation of life of Taiwanese at birth in 1940 was 13 years longer for males and 16.7 years longer for females.

Objectively considered, there were improvements in Taiwan during the half century of Japanese rule; and it is evident at the same time that under the scheme of colonial administration, the improvements were limited in character. The specific character of this social change can be traced in the population data. In order to let her colony carry out its function, in order to make it a good supplier of rice and sugar which Japan urgently needed, various kinds of basic establishments and developments had to be accomplished, such as the wiping out of epidemics, prevention of endemics, basic sanitation, development of transportation, primary education etc. In order to make her colony a good market for manufactured products, the purchasing power and the level of living of the people had to be raised somewhat. But if the "improvement" was pushed too far, it would enable the people to resist and revolt, so it must be kept within certain limits. The Japanese were quite clear on these points, and developed the island within the colonial scheme. The results were successful, even to the extent of Taiwan being called the "ideal colony". Here is the fundamental character of social change in Taiwan. Some data will help us to understand the situation concretely.

161 165 Though the death rate of Taiwanese had declined, its tempo was slow, and still remained very high in comparision with the death rate of Japanese in Taiwan. In the early years of occupation, the death rate of Japanese in Taiwan was tremendously high, but declined quickly and steadily, and with the passage of time the rate was not only lower than in Japan proper, but even attained the level of the most advanced western countries. To take the death rate of 1925 for instance, it was 24.84 per 1,000 for Taiwanese, 20.27 per 1,000 in Japan proper, but was as low as 11.34 per 1,000 for the Japanese in Taiwan. Though it is somewhat higher than Australia (9.2 per 1,000) and Netherlands (9.8 per 1,000), it is still lower than Sweden (11.7 per 1,000), England and Wales (12.2 per 1,000). The age composition of the Japanese in Taiwan was specific, [162] there were more youths and adults in its population, and no doubt this was one of the causes of its low death rate. But even after the difference of age composition was

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 AD1 Formosa AD1

corrected, the standardized death rate of the Japanese in Taiwan was 13.34 per 1,000, 161 still far lower than the rate of 20.27 per 1,000 for their brothers in Japan proper(5). 165 The rate of infant mortality of the Japanese in Taiwan was also comparable to that of most advanced western countries. From this we can see that Japanese in Taiwan were under tremendously favorable circumstances. Their excessive benefits were enjoyed only at the expense of the land in which they lived.

Social change in Taiwan after the restoration in 1945 will help us to understand 178 the character of colonial type of change. Under Japanese rule, manufacturing industry had attained a fair development, but it produced mostly processed agricultural goods 162 or semi-manufactured goods, and finished consumer's goods were mostly imported from Japan. Fertilizer and textiles were two main import items. If the production of 1941 is taken as base, after the restoration, the production of textiles increased ten times 433 and fertilizer increased five times by 1953 (7: p. 26). This is a sign that the economy 439 of Taiwan has outstripped its colonial and dependent character and has become an autonomous system. In respect to education, the enrollment of Taiwanese school age children in primary school had attained 80% by the later years of Japanese occupation, but the secondary and higher education were very poor. After the restoration, if we take the figure of 1937 as a base and compare it with 1953, the growth of the number of students was as follows. Primary school: more than doubled; vocational and normal school: more than three times; middle school: six and an half times; college and junior college: more than eight times; university: more then twenty one times (7: p. 302). In order to rectify the defects of the colonial era, higher education was especially promoted.

The Japanese are no exception to the rule that each nation struggles for its own benefit. Now that the colonial era is at an end, it is our task to analyze the elements of social change in that era. Some useful references for planning of further social development may be drawn from our analysis.

III. SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN

Some aspects of social change which relate directly to population change, will be 121 discussed in the following section. 669

7. *Political Background*

It is self-evident that population growth is deeply influenced by peace and war. The Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895 was met with a series of severe revolts. Between 1895 and 1901, the city of Taipei, the capital, was raided twice, the city of Taichung was also raided twice. Other military posts, local governmental offices and posts of military police were raided more than fifty times. A bigger uprising was suppressed in 1902, and after that several years passed in comparative tranquility. An insurrection broke out in 1907, and there were seven revolts between 1907 and 1915. During this period there were frequent uprisings against economic exploitation, as when

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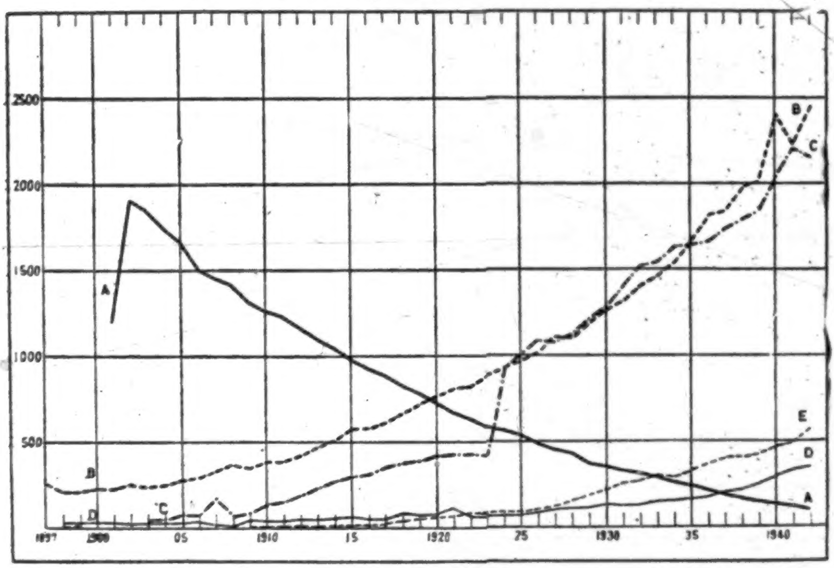
Note 5: Tachi, M.: Lecture on Population Problems, Tokio, 1943. p. 201.

759 was raised to a medical vocational school, to a medical college, and at last became a school of the Taipei Imperial University. Within the 47 years between 1899 and 1945, a total of 2,813 doctors (1,888 Taiwanese doctors and 925 Japanese doctors) were trained by the school.(8)

759 The trend of change in the number of medical personnel in Taiwan is given in
Figure 3. The decrease in the number of doctors of Chinese medicine and the increase
177 of doctors of western medicine is interesting. It is also significant to note that, the
162 number of the latter exceeded the number of the former by 1920. As to the ratio of
inhabitants to doctors (of western medicine), the number of inhabitants per doctor was
as follows:

years	number of inhabitants per doctor
1897-1906	10,000-12,000
1907-1911	8,000- 9,000
1912-1913	around 7,000
1914-1916	around 6,000
1917-1919	around 5,000
1920-1926	around 4,000
1927-1935	around 3,000
after 1936	around 2,000

Fig. 3 Number of Medical Personnel, Taiwan, 1897-1942



A: Doctors of Chinese Medicine B: Doctors of Western Medicine C: Midwives
D: Pharmacists E: Dentists
Source, 14: Table 484

Note 8: Li Ting-yeh: Part on Sanitation, Manuscript of the History of Taiwan Province, 1952, Taipei, p. 10.

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In 1942 there were 2,593 inhabitants per doctor, or 4 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants 177
(computed from 14: Table 484).(9) 162

12. Transportation

A railroad from Keelung to Hsinchu was already constructed by the Machurian 496
government. The railroad mileage increased gradually after the Japanese occupation. The main line from Keelung to Kaohsiung was completed by 1908. New branches, double tracks, and sidings were added rapidly, particularly during the 1920's. By 1930, the railroad system of the Japanese era was generally completed. As to passenger traffic, the number of passengers in 1931 was about 21 times of the number of 1901, and between 1931 and 1941 the number of passenger was almost tripled.(10) The mileage 491
of highways was also rose rapidly after the 1920's (14: Table 449). It is interesting to note that, the number of bicycles, automobiles and trucks began to increase after 1920 (Fig. 4, Fig. 5). When bicycles were first imported, people were surprised by their 493
high speed, and thought they were some magical thing. Now they became familiar with them, and utilized them more and more. This is a sign of the change of attitude among the people.

Before transportation was developed, different localities within an area could not 489
exchange and trade their products, and the failure of crop in one locality would cause local famine. W. S. Thompson, who stayed some months in Nanking, China, in 1930–31, 731
reported: at that time rice was so cheap in Nanking that many farmers were going bankrupt. At the same time people were starving by the hundred of thousands (some say by the millions) in northwest China. There was no means of transportation to let the two embarassed localities help each other, so local famine was inevitable. This situation has been very common in the past. Such prosperous and well-organized countries as England, France, and Sweden had severe local famines from time to time, even during the first half of the nineteenth century (16: pp. 67–68).

Development of transportation not only can stabilize the living of the people, but 000
at the same time it can significantly influence the extent of the peoples' economic activity and attitudes. When transportation is poor, surplus products of one locality are useless, and people are obliged to live a self-sufficient and closed economic life. Effective transportation can change surplus products into commodities, extending the sphere of economic and social activities. Thus, a self-sufficient and closed society will change into an open, circulating society living by division of labor and exchange. In a closed society, not only are the things produced different, but customs and manners are also different. In an open and circulating society, everything will gradually become uniform through continual contact and communication. In the vital statistics of Taiwan we can see a reflection of this change. During the early years of Japanese occupation,

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Note 9: As to the situation of medical facilities in 1945, see Li, Ting-yeh: op. cit. 12. As to the comparision of the situation of Taiwan with other parts of the world, cf. 27: Table 120.

Note 10: Tang, C. W.: "Railways in Taiwan". Chinese-American Economic Cooperation, Vol. 1, No. 5, 1952, Taipei, p. 66.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

By these actions the Japanese set apart from all others those who 659
were descended from the original residents of Taiwan. This segregation 641 in the statistics extended from the most obvious differentiation—that of Japanese nationals—down to fine distinctions within the Taiwanese population itself.[7] It was consistent in both the population censuses and vital statistics, making it possible to amalgamate the two systems of record-keeping continuously as long as they were maintained.

TABLE 1

TAIWANESE BORN OUTSIDE OF TAIWAN, 1920 AND 1930 162

Proportion of All Persons Who Have Been Born "Abroad," by Age and Sex

	Census of 1920		*Census of 1930*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
All ages	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
0-9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-19	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
20-29	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
30-39	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
40-49	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1
50-59	1.3	0.2	0.3	0.1
60-69	1.9	0.3	0.8	0.1
70 and above	2.6	0.7	1.0	0.3

Sources: *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix*, Table 79.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 55.

Regulating the conduct of "alien" Chinese nationals in Taiwan 167
was not the sole purpose in establishing the legal status of residents. 659
The authorities also set out to halt the further migration of people
from the mainland. In this they were apparently successful. Taiwanese 162 were required to verify their nationality by certain proofs, chief of which was evidence of having been born in Taiwan. Taking this as a criterion, there seems to have been little admixture from the mainland to the category of "Taiwanese." For example, tables showing Taiwanese who were born "abroad" were published with the censuses of 1920 and 1930. If the information was accurate, practically the entire population of Taiwanese born after 1895 was ac-

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[7] This fine detail was confined to a slightly different classification, based on "race." It provided categories within the group with Taiwanese nationality—aborigines, Taiwanese of Fukien origin, and Taiwanese of Kwangtung origin. The two classifications were not precisely the same, the one based on "nationality" being the more consistent at different times.

659 tually born in Taiwan (see Table 1). Almost none under 25 years
167 of age in 1920, or under 35 in 1930, were recorded as having been
born outside. Some who were older at these two dates had been
162 born in China, but they were very few and were probably living in Taiwan at the time of annexation. These figures imply that migration after 1895 was probably confined to people who were appropriately registered by nationality, and counted as *aliens* in census enumerations.[8]

Hence the census category of "Taiwanese" was defined so as to exclude migrants to and from the island. This is significant to know, for it means that Taiwanese counted in any census after 1905 were exactly the survivors of those who had been counted before (plus those who had been born in the meantime). It also means that the population of Taiwanese was for statistical purposes a "closed" population—one which neither gained nor lost people by migration. All change in the size of the Taiwanese population was therefore due to "natural increase," or the balance between births and deaths. One can thus speak precisely of population "growth" in Taiwan, without reference to migration as a complicating factor.

Half a Century of Rapid Growth

161 The total population, and the sub-total of Taiwanese, are shown in Table 2 as counted on October 1 of each census year, along with the annual geometric rates of growth that are implied at each intercensal stage. Every year showed an increase. The only setbacks were between 1915 and 1920, when the island suffered three near-epidemic attacks of disease. Even over this relatively poor span the average yearly rate of increase was close to one per cent. The original population of 1895 was more than doubled by 1945; when the vital statistics were discontinued in 1943, there were nearly six million Taiwanese.

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[8] By evasion of the law some Chinese might conceivably have slipped into Taiwan and passed themselves off as Taiwanese. A further acquaintance with the regulatory system in later chapters, however, will make this appear most unlikely.

There is evidence of another sort that the Taiwanese were not diminished by removals to the mainland. Briefly, detailed testing of the validity of birth and death statistics has shown that practically all persons born in Taiwan were later accounted for in a census enumeration, or as registered deaths if they failed to survive. Practically all who were enumerated in one census were similarly accounted for at later dates. During the 1930's, Japanese permitted small numbers of Taiwanese to leave the island for special purposes. The effect of these departures was very small, and raises no difficulty in dealing with the data of earlier years. Thus, if there was emigration, it too was clandestine and very small.

161 at large, for example, the increase of people that has populated most of the earth's surface has progressed steadily only in a few centuries of sweeping changes. It has maintained an average yearly rate of half of one per cent, only one-fifth that of the Taiwanese. At their more recent rate of increase, they could supply the entire world's present population in less than 250 years.

Growth at this pace, for all its associated virtues in the saving of life and postponement of death, can be a costly way of expanding the membership of a society. It imposes on the adults the burden of supporting more dependent children than would otherwise be required. Consequently, at any particular time growing populations contain large proportions of young children and infants.

.162 The increase of Taiwanese left this kind of mark on their age composition. By 1940, they had passed through 50 years of growth almost unbroken by periods of high mortality. The age structure, both of males and of females, was one that expanded steadily at each lower age to a broad base of infants at the bottom (see Fig. 3). The progression was almost smooth, with few irregularities in between.

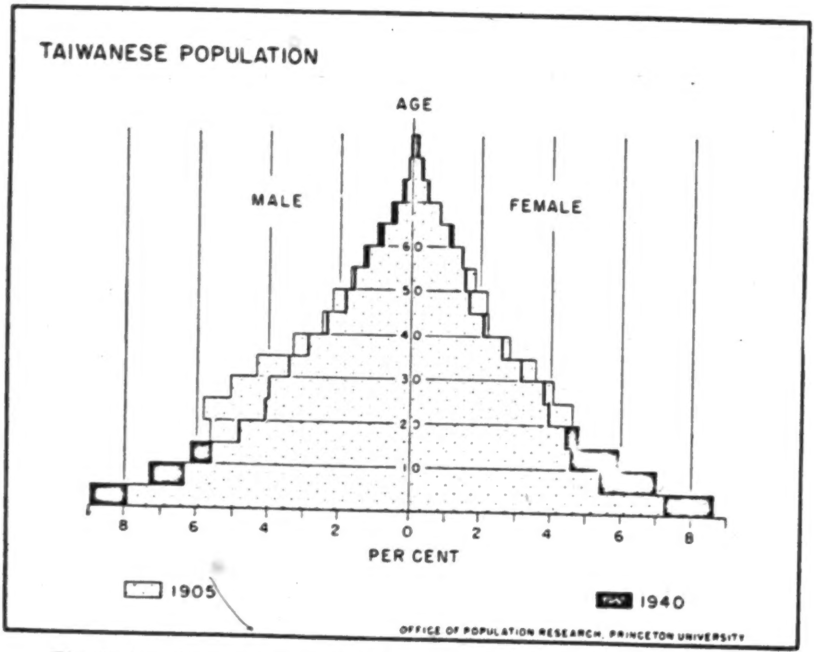

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Fig. 3. Age Composition of the Taiwanese Population, 1905 and 1940.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

In 1905 there were only a little more than half as many Taiwanese as in 1940. Their distribution in different ages presumably had not been subject to this past influence of steady growth. It nevertheless had many of the indications of potential expansion. Births were at high levels in relation to the numbers of adults. Through the effects of high and erratic mortality, many never reached maturity. 161

The inroads of past deaths had been far more irregular and generally more severe than in the population of 1940. As reflected in the dearth of persons from 5 to 20, for example, the turbulence that prevailed in Taiwan from 1890 to 1905 must have taken a heavy toll of infants and young children, and possibly prevented many others from being born. Even so, the population of Taiwanese in 1905 was an extremely youthful one. Provided that the supply of new infants each year would continue undiminished, it needed only an energetic set of measures for the control of mortality in order to produce the growth that ensued.

Because in most census tables "nationality" was adopted to classify the population, the Taiwanese must be considered for most purposes as a single group. It was not, however, a completely homogeneous category. It contained the remnants of the aboriginal inhabitants, and people from many different parts of China. Those of Fukien origin were predominant; their ancestors had made up the largest portion of all the migrants to Taiwan. The majority who reported ancestry in Kwangtung were descendants of the earlier Hakka migrants. These two principal classes of Chinese had begun to mix by intermarriage, which explains the lesser gain in those of Fukien origin by 1935. But during the great natural increase of Taiwanese they both grew almost evenly.[9] 162

The aborigines had ceased to be an important part of the population by 1905. No longer able to contest the seizure of their lands and destruction of hunting grounds, they had retreated to the mountains of Taiwan where most succeeded in avoiding Chinese influence. It took many years before they were finally subdued by the Japanese. The statistical information about the aborigines is incomplete and cannot be compared from one date to another, and we must all but ignore them in discussing the rest of the Taiwanese. Paradoxically,

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[9] Already by 1905 the boundaries between these two groups were less pronounced than they once had been. Separate tables of the population in that year according to principal language spoken showed a certain amount of mixture between the two. The remarkable fact is that they remained as distinct as they did.

162 this small and obscure minority have been subjects for an immense amount of anthropological investigation during Japanese rule in Taiwan, while the peoples of Chinese origin (for whom accurate and precise information has been available these many years) have been almost entirely neglected. The increase of aborigines in census enumerations probably signifies nothing in the way of growth; it was not until the 1930's that they were brought fully within the scope of the census.

TABLE 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF TAIWAN

Censuses of 1905 and 1935

	1905			1935		
	Persons	*Per Cent of Total*	*Males per 100 Females*	*Persons*	*Per Cent of Total*	*Males per 100 Females*
Japanese	57,335	1.9	152	270,674	5.2	116
Korean*				1,479	0.0	60
Taiwanese						
Fukien Origin	2,492,784	82.0	112	3,939,966	75.6	103
Kwangtung Origin	397,195	13.1	108	735,334	14.1	103
Other Chinese Origin	506	0.0	218	265	0.0	109
Aborigines	82,795	2.7	96	207,900	4.0	101
"Others"	9,136	0.3	1,757	56,808	1.1	217

* Koreans included with "Others" in 1905.
Source: *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Introduction, p. 32.

162 167 The numerical position of the Japanese community in Taiwan gives no clue to its strong influence in the course of events after 1895. Its growth was not of the same sort as that of Taiwanese. Few if any Japanese regularly lived in the island in 1895.[10] By 1905 a settlement of 57,335 was recorded for the census, increasing to 270,584 in 1935 and 312,386 in 1940, or five times its earlier size.[11] Japanese in Taiwan did not add to their numbers through natural increase alone, especially since their community was a highly masculine one (see Table 3).[12] As a matter of fact, their registered natural increase from

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[10] One foreign writer at the time went so far as to assert that prior to 1895 "there was not in the whole island a single Japanese resident." See Davidson, James W. (1903), p. 592.

[11] The military garrison was supposed to be excluded from all of these enumerations.

[12] Marriages with Taiwanese were prohibited until 1932. Offspring of such illicit mixed unions were rarely if ever counted later as Japanese, making the shortage of women a serious restriction on the per capita reproduction of Japanese.

1906 to 1940 amounted to only 146,597, and if accurate could account 162
for only 57 per cent of the total gain. The numbers of Japanese in 167
Taiwan therefore increased very largely by migration. As we shall see, this was a special type of migration, based on opportunities that did not prevail for others in Taiwan or for Japanese at home, and brought special kinds of migrants. By recruiting new members relatively faster than the natural increase of the Taiwanese, they also raised their proportion in the total population (see Table 3).

The only other non-Taiwanese group, excluding an insignificant 162
number of Koreans, were the Chinese from the mainland. They are shown in Table [illegible] "Aliens," mixed with a few other foreign nationalities. Numerically they were even smaller than the Japanese. Being the ones most likely to blur the ethnic boundaries, Chinese nationals were classified and marked out with great care from the rest of the population, as we have indicated. In census enumerations they would have been indistinguishable from Taiwanese, but for the necessity the Japanese felt to control their activities and forestall the development of close ties between Taiwanese and the mainland.[13]

The Taiwanese, however, were the group of major consequence for demographic study. Up to 1945 they comprised practically the whole of the population taken at large. The proportion of non-Taiwanese never reached 7 per cent. Distributed in the total, all these others were minor elements; only when special considerations are introduced do they become important. In the following pages, attention is given to the Taiwanese population almost exclusively, for their development under Japanese rule, which produced this natural increase, is the main problem to be investigated.

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[13] [Taiwan.] Government of Formosa. *The Special Population Census of Formosa, 1905.* [English translation] p. 161.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

It is certain that Taiwan underwent some social changes under 463 the Japanese. The colonial program itself was one, with consequences that were far-reaching. Moreover, the expansion of population and production could not have occurred without further adjustments in social institutions, for in the so-called natural environment men rarely succeed (under the most favorable conditions) in enlarging their works in exact scale. But to have left so much of the old society intact, these changes must have been distributed unevenly through the population; some portions must have been influenced more than others.

In ascertaining the facts of the case, the first step is to see how the working population became involved in new activities. The work of peasant farmers was least affected. Hence one should look for the largest results in alternative fields. The only way for specialization to have progressed very far, in view of what is known of the agricultural economy, was through the spread of employment other than farming.

Fortunately, there is reliable information to show who performed 463 162 the principal economic activities at certain times. Five census enumerations were conducted with great concern for determining the occupational composition of the population. In four of these, up to 1930, tables were published classifying the people in detail according to occupation and other characteristics, using categories that are nearly if not exactly comparable from year to year.[20] The proportions of all working persons found among various classes of occupations have been assembled from these sources in Table 11. In 1940, the same information was collected and tabulated, but not published with full explanation of procedures; only the one table reproduced here has become available outside of Taiwan.*

Even as early as 1905 not everyone in the island was restricted to agriculture as a means of support. Slightly more than two-thirds of all persons with occupation were so engaged, with a group half as large remaining to be accounted for in other pursuits. These data

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[20] Where the classification departed from previous practice, continuity can be preserved in broad groups of occupations by re-allocating occupations in the smaller groupings. Where such re-grouping has been possible, it will be appropriately noted in the text. Later, in cross-tabulations with other characteristics, the broadest categories often must be used as they stand.

* While this book was in press, a collection of tables from the census of 1940 was published in Taiwan. See *Results of the Seventh Population Census of Taiwan, 1940* (Taipei, Provincial Government of Taiwan, Bureau of Accounting and Statistics, March 1953).

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TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION, TOTAL POPULATION OF TAIWAN

Per Cents of All Occupied Persons Reported in Each Occupation,* 1905, 1930, and 1940. All Ethnic Groups, Both Sexes

Occupation†	*1905*	*1930*	*1940*
Agriculture‡	71.2	68.2	64.6
Fishing	2.2	1.8	5.4
Mining	0.5	1.4	1.9
Manufacturing	6.2	8.5	7.6
Commerce	6.7	12.0	10.0
Transportation	2.1	3.0	2.7
Gov't. and Prof.	2.3	4.9	5.1
Other	8.8	0.2	2.7
Total Occupied	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per Cent Occupied	45.8	38.8	37.6

* Persons classified as Domestic Servants have been removed.

† The data used in this table to represent the years 1930 and 1940 are not of precisely the same sort as those showing the occupational distribution of the population in other tables. The scheme for classifying occupations was greatly changed between the censuses of 1930 and 1940; as a result, the only basis for comparison between these two dates is the classification according to "Industry," of which the main categories remained the same. Hence the figures in Column 2 and Column 3 of this table represent the distribution of occupied persons by the "Industries" in which they worked, and not by their "Occupations."

‡ In all of these tables of employed persons, unless specified to the contrary, the category "Agriculture" includes "Forestry."

Sources: *Census of 1905, General Volume*, Table 45.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 28.
Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, *Land Utilization in Taiwan* (1950), p. 62.

bear out the evidence of history during Manchu times, to the effect that a good many people had already been occupied in services connected with exporting and marketing primary produce.

Observations in 1905 cannot, of course, perfectly represent conditions ten years earlier—some Japanese were present in the statistics, and their influence in the economy was beginning to be felt. But these early census materials offer the closest approach to the pre-Japanese period that is possible. They depict a situation that must have been very similar to that of the final years of Chinese rule in Taiwan.

Table 11 summarizes the effects of major shifts in occupation throughout the entire working population, reaching to the eve of World War II. Though only an abbreviated picture, it belies any

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

suggestion that the organization of livelihood in general had been profoundly altered under the Japanese. But any discussion of the problem very soon outruns crude data like these. Though Table 11 is comprehensive, covering all groups in the population, it lumps together people of too many kinds, and thereby hides many significant types of variation. The same material can be used more efficiently when refined by some of the controls at our disposal. 463 162

In the first place, not everyone in the population was equally well reported as to occupation. Asia being even more than the West a man's world, occupational data do not mean the same thing for males and females. Women are barred from many occupations and, whatever their duties, are not readily regarded in society as having regular employment. Whether a woman in Taiwan reported herself as being employed or not often depended on other attributes of her social position more than on the actual tasks performed—for example, whether she had yet been married, whether widowed or divorced, what work was followed by other members of her family, or simply local custom governing attitudes toward the work of women. For reasons that will be elaborated in the following chapter, we shall henceforth separate females from males in all occupational tables, under the assumption that the working activities of males more accurately reflect the composition of employment in the economy. 462 463 162

Omitting females from Table 12 has the effect of correcting the inflated appearance that they give to agriculture, especially in the earlier years. With this more meaningful series of observations, it is striking not merely that activities were so diversified in the beginning, but that they changed so little. In the 35 years that followed this first general census the structure of occupations among men remained about the same. By this more adequate criterion, agriculture lost almost no ground as a field of employment after 1905. Still nearly two-thirds of all working men were farmers as late as 1930, the terminal date for these figures. From Table 11 it is clear that the same thing must have been true in 1940.

And so, even including the Japanese, those who were caught up in the "industrialization" made up a minor part of all males in Taiwan. Demographically, this cardinal aspect of "economic development" was never anything but a small-scale operation.

Obviously, Table 11 and Table 12 cannot bring to light the full extent of trends accompanying events over this period. These figures indicate only shifts from one broad type of activity to another. They

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TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF WORKING MALES IN TAIWAN
TOTAL, ALL ETHNIC GROUPS

Per Cents of Occupied Males Reported in Each Occupation, 1905, 1920, and 1930*

Occupation	*1905*	*1920*	*1930*
Agriculture	67.7	64.3	63.1
Fishing	2.7	2.2	2.0
Mining	.6	1.5	1.3
Manufacturing	6.2	9.5	8.9
Commerce	7.8	8.3	10.9
Transportation	2.7	3.9	4.5
Gov't. & Prof.	2.8	4.1	5.1
Other	9.5	6.2	4.2
Total Occupied	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of Males Occupied	67.2	62.4	58.2

* Domestic servants have been excluded.
Source: Data of Table 16.

make no allowance for a more subtle kind of change—differences evolving within these groups of occupations.

These variations may take two forms. One consists of movement among the positions that comprise each broader group. This disturbance in the framework of positions can be taken as a result of innovations that actually altered the organization of work. It was noteworthy only in those lines where Japanese took a direct hand (see Table 13, below). Where it involved changes across the boundaries of the occupational groups tabulated in Table 12, the effects appear as occupational shifts from one census to the next. These one would expect to arise from such sources as the drawing of sugar workers from old into modern mills; from the wider shift toward factory work within the generic scope of "manufacturing"; the adjustment of commerce to the newer export industries; or the replacing of archaic transport or banking enterprises with wage-earning employees of Japanese concerns—though only a portion can be detected through the broad categories that we have used.

These differences also took a second form that cannot be conveyed in terms of the distribution of working activities. Many new skills were introduced within the existing arrangement or organization of work. The agricultural program was achieved primarily through this unobtrusive path, along with many of the spectacular improvements in productivity in other fields.[21] This form is the more elusive one to deal with, for it did not of itself produce shifts in employment. At the same time, the dimensions of economic achievement in Taiwan were too large to have been confined to the limits of occupational change shown in Table 12, unless they depended heavily on this second channel.

TABLE 13

RELATIVE GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT LINES
TOTAL POPULATION, ALL ETHNIC GROUPS

Occupation	*Ratios of Males Employed in 1930 to Those in 1905, by Occupation*
Agriculture	1.18
Fishing	.94
Mining	2.68
Manufacturing	1.91
Commerce	1.78
Gov't. & Prof.	2.28
Transportation, etc.	2.26
Other	.56
Total, All Occupations	1.27
Total Males	1.46

Sources: *Census of 1905, General Volume*, Table 45.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 28.

Comparing the occupational structure at successive points of time is not the best measure of change. In some respects a better one is to indicate how the different lines of employment shared in the outstanding demographic trend, the growth of population. With 1905 as a base, the relative increase for each occupational stratum expresses more clearly the strides that were being made outside of agriculture (see Table 13).

These results would have been far different if none of the social changes under colonial rule had occurred—if, for example, the original situation had been fully stable, in the sense of being able to reproduce itself indefinitely, with no interference from outside or within save the single effect of population growth. (It is, of course, nothing more than a hypothetical exercise to assume this course of events, since population growth itself presupposes some conditions that had not been present before.) Under these assumptions, presumably each occupational stratum would have received an equal share of the increase, and the ratios of expansion for all would have been identical. The fact that they grew so unevenly illustrates that the actual events departed considerably from this imaginary sequence.

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[21] The two approaches were not independent. For example, introducing the use of fertilizers on a wide scale did not appreciably interfere with the management of peasant farms; but it did stimulate a lively business in supplying commercial fertilizer materials. The important point is that the two types of effect often fell in different places—in this case, the fertilizer trade went chiefly to Japanese importers.

Several conditions would be required in order to maintain this hypothetical stability. People would need to follow well-accepted rules in adopting occupations, customs that would impede any widespread transfers by individuals from one kind of work to another. Chinese have for centuries come close to this result by passing many types of work down from fathers to sons. In Taiwan, keeping the various lines of work in balance would have implied a close adherence to such traditions by most of the population, as it did in the past. In effect, the unequal ratios of increase between occupations meant that many men who would have become farmers did not, but entered some alternative employment instead.[22]

Table 13 also indicates which occupations were most affected. Employment expanded rapidly in some of the fields where Japanese capital was prominent. These were also the fields that employed technical specialists and made the least use of the traditional fund of skills existing among the Taiwanese. Growth in these lines did not necessarily broaden employment opportunities for Taiwanese. There were in all 26.6 per cent more occupied males in Taiwan in 1930 than in 1905,[23] but 2.3 times as many in professional and administrative positions and in occupations connected with transportation, 81 per cent and 78 per cent more in manufacturing and commerce respectively. The farming segment in the population lagged slightly behind the total of employed men; but it was so large initially that it could relinquish large numbers of actual or potential members to other occupations before showing signs of the loss.[24]

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[22] This aspect of occupational transfers will be taken up in some detail in the next chapter.

[23] This ratio is less than the increase in the general population, because changes in the age composition over this period raised the proportions of children and aged persons in the total. The proportions of men occupied in the prime working ages—15 to 64—remained practically the same.

[24] Losses from agriculture did not supply all of the additional employment in the expanding fields. The group "Other Occupations" was the source of almost the same portion of the inequalities in these figures. Being a catch-all, this category is always a weak spot in occupational statistics. In Taiwan it was made up chiefly of "day laborers,"

These ratios measure how far each occupation increased irrespective of its size in relation to others at the start. Table 13 therefore expresses the force of events on each occupation, and not the force of occupational changes in the economy. This being the case, they should not all be given equal weight. The development of mining, by this criterion, exceeded any of the other fields. Though truly a creation of Japanese exploration and investment, the mining industry in Taiwan never reached any substantial size, and does not merit special attention as a field of employment.

Lacking detailed evidence for the period following 1930, some conjecture is needed. Official sources and more recent descriptive materials in English are unreliable, since they invariably exaggerate the extent of Japanese achievement. We have certain data, however, to suggest the dimensions of expansion in demographic terms. While Japanese planners tried to raise production in all lines, they concentrated on a few specific items that were especially important to Japan. They paid most attention to enlarging factory facilities for the processing of primary products. Hence, it should be possible to detect some of this flurry of new activity in the numbers of people working in factories.

Statistics of factory employment in Taiwan were begun in 1914, and published each year ending in 1941. They fell far short of being perfect indicators, being subject to many kinds of inaccuracy that a census enumeration can easily avoid.[25] Nevertheless as a series of observations they furnish very useful results. The rise of factory employment may be compared with growth in the total population in Fig. 10, where the numbers of persons employed in "factories" from year to year are plotted on a logarithmic scale. The growth in total population and in agricultural population is also shown, in hundreds of persons.

Factory employment rose steadily from the beginning to the end

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not otherwise classified. Its decline represented some actual movement of workers and new recruits into new jobs, and in part merely assigning of new names to the same work. This circumstance tends to magnify the difference between agriculture and other occupations, but does not otherwise distort the picture shown in Table 13.

[25] They apparently paralleled the corresponding figures for Japan in covering all factories with more than five workers. They were published without explanation of standards or procedures, which were less rigorous than those used in the censuses. It is not specified whether factory workers were full or part-time workers; they are not shown separately by ethnic affiliation; their numbers must have increased (independently of any change in actual employment) by the adding of new enterprises to the reporting system; and their actual duties are not given.

463 of this period. There were only two departures from this growth—
162 the prosperous days of 1920 and 1929 and their aftermaths. Overlooking these brief deviations from the trend, the average rate of growth from 1918 until 1935 was *no greater than that of the total population*. Only in 1936 did the force of economic expansion reach the population to the extent of diffusing factory work more widely through it.

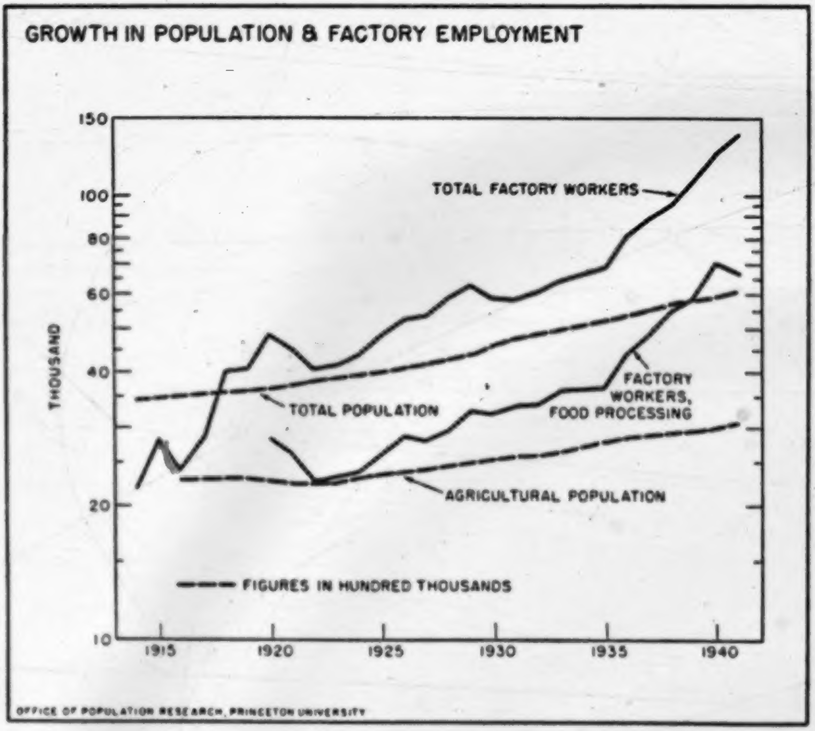

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Fig. 10. Increase of Factory Employment and of Population in Taiwan, 1914-1941.

The largest part of the total (about 55 per cent) was made up of workers in sugar mills (see Fig. 10). The sugar industry kept its priority in the later economic planning. It serves as a reminder that the expansion of production continued to be dominated by this single industry, systematically nurtured and expanded as a source of alcohol for Japan.

The evidence for the spread of factory work can be supplemented

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by the annual registry of agricultural population (i.e., members of families dependent on agriculture).[28] The two major spurts in factory employment occurred during the first World War and just preceding the second. These were the only two periods of substantial slackening in gradual increments of farm population to the point of actual decline in the early 1920's. After 1940 this portion of the population resumed its usual rate of growth, suggesting that the opportunities for shifting the balance of employment had begun to disappear.

Occupational Shifts: Taiwanese and Japanese

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The data up to this point illustrate some of the redeployment of manpower in the economy. They give no basis for considering the social changes that were responsible, for they do not disclose who were the participants. To understand how manpower responds to altered environmental conditions, one must know some of the affiliations that have shaped its members' decisions. Moreover, "economic development" is of no great interest here for its own sake, but rather for the nature of its reception and use by peoples not yet under its full influence. Therefore the Taiwanese are the important group to observe, and in a different sense the Japanese in their role of aliens on the scene.

Most of the apparent diversification in economic activities shown in Table 12 did not consist of movements in the Taiwanese population at all. It reflected primarily the special characteristics of Japanese in Taiwan. Though never more than one-twentieth of the total population, their nationals were so concentrated in certain special positions that they often outnumbered Taiwanese. Once this special group is removed (Table 14), Taiwanese appear to have contributed only a small amount to the total occupational shifts up to 1930. Separated from the presence of Japanese in these key posts, the part of Taiwanese in the modernized sectors of the economy was indeed a modest one.

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[28] The total population and agricultural population have been reduced to one-hundredth of their size to fit into Fig. 10. They can consequently be used to show more than merely relative trends. Where either one intersects a trend line for factory employees, the ratio of the latter to the former is 1:100, or 1 per cent. (Of course, the scale being logarithmic, the same relation does not hold between points separated by larger intervals.) This circumstance helps to point out how small the total amount of work in factories was in relation to the entire population. At its peak, judged by these figures, it occupied less than 3 per cent of the population. It remained under 2 per cent for most of this period.

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TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE
Per Cents of Occupied Males Reported in Each Occupation,*
1905, 1920 and 1930

Occupation	*1905*	*1920*	*1930*
Agriculture	69.9	68.9	68.0
Fishing	2.8	2.2	2.1
Mining	0.5	1.4	1.3
Manufacturing	5.6	7.9	7.6
Commerce	7.4	7.6	10.2
Transportation, etc.	2.2	3.2	3.9
Gov't. & Prof.	1.8	2.2	2.7
Other	9.8	6.6	4.2
Total Occupied	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per Cent of Males Occupied	66.7	61.8	57.7

* Domestic servants have been excluded. Occupations are adjusted in 1905 and 1920 to be comparable with 1930.

Source: Data of Table 16.

As for the Japanese, most who were old enough to work had been born in the Home Islands. All of these had arrived in Taiwan as a result of some decision to move, and presumably had some purpose in being there. Theirs was a highly selective migration. It brought in the promoters and technicians, the industrialists and clerical personnel, the officials and minor functionaries to operate this first colonial venture. As in most colonies, they enjoyed facilities and perquisites of a superior type—better, if not to conditions generally prevailing in the home country, at least to the standards that they as individuals could have expected at home.[27]

Much of the migration was coordinated with economic policy.[28]

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[27] On top of better vocational opportunities, Japanese commonly received special bonuses for service in Taiwan. Rates of pay for comparable wage labor in Taiwan were consistently higher for Japanese (see *Statistical Summary*, Tables 301-303).

[28] This had not always been the case. For most of the first decade after 1895, Japanese were permitted to go to Taiwan with little restriction. The freedom attracted an "undesirable" element to the island, whose business activities were so unbridled and uncoordinated as to call forth a stricter government policy to deal with incoming personnel. Japanese looked back from the later ordered development on this early chaotic period with horror. The unsatisfactory results of laissez-faire may also have contributed to the decision to centralize the most profitable opportunities in state hands. Through official monopolies in the major export lines, it was possible to regulate continuously the conduct of Japanese businessmen as well as to make substantial levies in these enterprises for revenue.

Japanese drew lessons from the colonial experience of European 463
powers in supplying the special skills and competencies that their 563
program required. Government and private industry recruited their
personnel from Japan, according to needs which they determined 162
in advance. In one respect they learned the lessons of staffing their technical positions better than their teachers: they paid more attention to procuring lower levels of skills from their own ranks along with filling the top functions. Important implemental positions, like police, railroad technicians, and maintenance men, were heavily staffed with Japanese.

All Japanese nationals, regardless of whether specially recruited or not, were favored over Taiwanese when employed by Japanese concerns.[29] The best openings were in professional and official positions, as administrators in government and finance. Less coveted, but still bearing prestige over Taiwanese counterparts, were the jobs of technical and skilled workers in transportation and industry, and petty officials in the government bureaucracy. In every census Japanese appeared consistently in these occupations (see Table 15).

As a group, they were conspicuous in staying out of agriculture,

TABLE 15
OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF JAPANESE IN TAIWAN
Per Cents of Occupied Males Reported in Each Occupation,*
1905, 1920 and 1930

Occupation	*1905*	*1920*	*1930*
Agriculture	1.0	4.4	4.6
Fishing	0.6	2.0	2.1
Mining	5.0	1.9	0.5
Manufacturing	20.6	27.4	18.2
Commerce	16.5	15.0	14.6
Transportation, etc.	13.9	11.7	11.0
Gov't. & Prof.	41.3	37.2	45.6
Other	1.1	0.4	3.4
Total Occupied	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per Cent of Males Occupied	80.4	69.0	60.8

* Domestic servants have been excluded. Occupations are adjusted in 1905 and 1920 to be comparable with 1930.
Source: Data of Table 16.

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[29] Notwithstanding, the colony had its failures. The census reports list a scattering of Japanese as day laborers, ricksha pullers, longshoremen, and in similar occupations.

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despite the fact that most were engaged in some capacity in helping the passage of farm products to Japan. Japan made almost no use of Taiwan as an outlet for its own growing agricultural population. From time to time the authorities announced projects for settling farmers from the Home Islands. These plans may have been designed to make a favorable impression among government circles in Japan itself; none ever proved feasible in Taiwan. Only a few thousand "colonists" of this type came to Taiwan and made a start in farming. In spite of manifold blessings of official support, subsidies, and special privileges, the settlements never managed to prosper. The families often left the countryside for better employment in towns and cities, and during the 1930's the whole idea was abandoned.[30]

Taiwan's economy was thus organized not only to export its narrow range of commodities to Japan, but to import its basic specialized skills in the persons of Japanese migrants. For the authorities this was an easy answer to the problem of staffing essential functions with people of appropriate training and experience. It avoided, among other things, the need to devise means for securing them from the human resources at hand in Taiwan. From the standpoint of Japan it was not an efficient solution. It drew upon types of manpower that the Japanese at home could not well afford to lose, and at the same time failed to make the best use of talents existing among the Taiwanese.[31] This anomaly in distribution of skills between the two areas is illustrated in Fig. 11. Japanese residents in Taiwan were a highly selected group even for Japan itself, where technical abilities were also scarce.

Possession of an external source of supply for specialized skills had

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[30] Yanaihara, Tadao (1929), pp. 174-175, notes that it was already a failure before 1930.

[31] The founding of Taihoku Imperial University was an outstanding example of this policy. It was an institution of high caliber, well equipped and operated by men of repute in Japan. The University notably did *not* engage in training any considerable number of technical personnel among Taiwanese. It was organized to promote research rather than teaching, its classes were small, and Taiwanese students were not readily admitted. See Kerr, George H. (1942), p. 55 ff.

On a more practical plane, several technical schools were later established for limited training of Taiwanese. These, to use the common expression of educators in this country, were "vocational" rather than "professional" in that they taught manual instead of liberal skills. Enlargement of educational facilities came too late to provide the technical training needed for the war effort, though it did serve to advance literacy (in the Japanese language) among Taiwanese youth (see *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, Table 81). Once started, the spread of educational facilities made considerable headway. By 1943, 70 per cent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school. In time this more liberal turn of policy might have paved the way for admitting Taiwanese into more responsible positions in the island's new industrial program.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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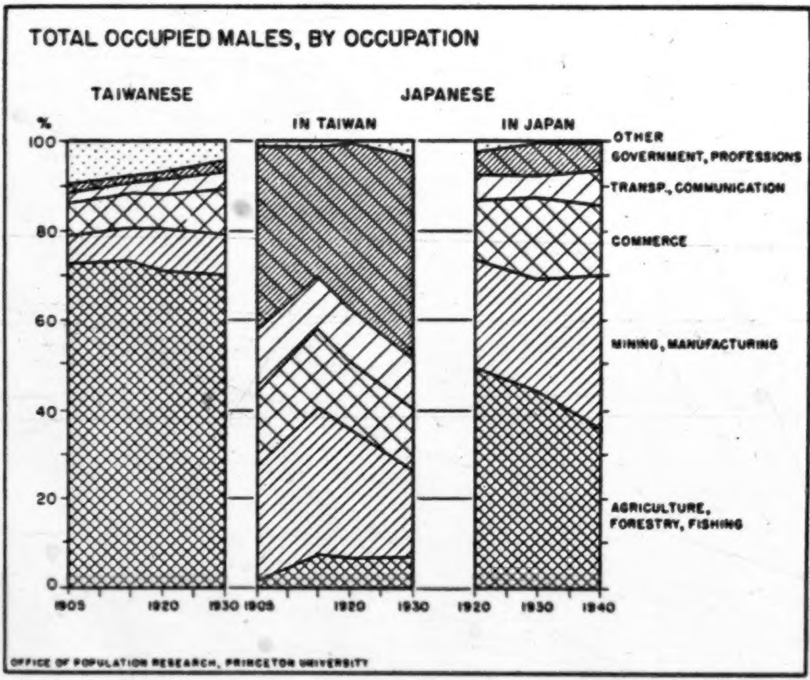

Fig. 11. Trends in Occupations in Taiwan and Japan, 1905-1940.

certain cogent advantages. The alien status of Japanese nationals was useful in keeping high standards of responsibility and performance among members of the public and private bureaucracies. This personnel could be interposed to administer Taiwanese affairs without becoming susceptible to local pressures. Though the Japanese had gained access to the rural society by manipulating its traditional institutions, they had to guard against subversion of their administration by influence from the Taiwanese side.

They did not succeed, as no large organization has, in making their officials completely disinterested and honest. There were scandals and reports of self-enrichment on the part of several of their highly-placed nationals. When it came to collusion with Taiwanese, however, they were all but incorruptible. The instances of improbity that achieved publicity in Taiwan were mostly between government and business interests. Irregularities of this sort did not threaten the objectives of the regime, for these parties had more at stake together than at issue in the economic expansion. Much of what was lost in 513

563 this wasteful scheme of recruiting from abroad therefore must have been regained in the form of security against the conservative influence of tradition from within.

In one respect, however, this policy proved to be an unqualified loss to the Japanese. They established a caste-like status for their own nationals, hedged about with favoritism in employment, education, and business opportunity. This widened the gulf that the general severity of their rule had made between themselves and the Taiwanese. The enmity that they had earned among the population left them unprepared to bring it effectively into the last-minute industrial effort called forth by the war.[32]

We know from the Japanese themselves that the latter 1930's were for them years of exceptional new decisions and vigorous efforts at expansion. Official policy began to assert itself more strongly in matters of industrial planning and investment. The previous success in aiding farm production, which had given official circles some occasion for complacency, suddenly became inadequate. The government began at a strenuous pace to mobilize Taiwan's economy for serving the broader purposes of the Empire.

563 463 •162 On very short notice they sought to transform Taiwan into a quasi-industrial appendage of Japan. The attempts to encourage new aptitudes and incentives among Taiwanese are as interesting to contemplate, in terms of their implications for manpower, as were the attempts to prevent this very development. The two objectives are of course incompatible, but they were fostered side by side by the Japanese under the stress of preparing for war. Yet by 1940, at the peak of all this energy, the portion of the working population employed outside of agriculture was scarcely greater than at earlier census dates—still only one-third, and this figure includes an undetermined number of Japanese residents (see Table 11). Only a tiny fraction of the people in Taiwan had taken up factory employment, and many of these were also Japanese. We are left with the conclusion that Japanese colonial policies and indigenous tradition had combined to restrict social change within a small segment of the population. Japanese comprised most of this segment. New activities were spread thinly among Taiwanese, and left the remainder engaged in the same pursuits as their ancestors for countless generations.

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[32] During the quickened prewar mobilization of their resources in Taiwan, despite the crowded condition of agriculture, Japanese businessmen actually complained of a *shortage* of labor in industry.

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TABLE 16

Taiwan: Total Males, and Males with Occupation Distributed by Occupation, at Census Dates, 1905 to 1930. Total All Groups, Taiwanese, Japanese, and Others*

Occupation	*1930*	*1920*	*1915*	*1905*
TOTAL MALES				
Occupied	1,369,877	1,180,842	1,155,777	1,081,667
Agr. and Forestry	864,884	761,047	776,181	731,473
Fishing (Excl. Salt)	27,709	25,858	26,911	29,465
Mining	18,345	17,240	9,741	6,843
Manufacturing	122,066	112,063	94,338	67,526
Commerce	148,847	97,726	93,171	83,815
Transportation	61,323	45,645	38,901	29,138
Gov't. and Prof.	69,644	48,018	34,737	30,566
Other	57,059	73,245	81,797	102,836
TAIWANESE MALES				
Occupied	1,265,185	1,100,297	1,088,199	1,045,667
Agr. and Forestry	860,613	757,917	772,437	731,102
Fishing (Excl. Salt)	25,916	24,261	26,150	29,260
Mining	16,970	15,629	8,319	5,203
Manufacturing	95,832	87,314	72,444	58,833
Commerce	129,372	83,600	79,823	77,060
Transportation	48,677	35,428	29,505	23,186
Gov't. and Prof.	34,260	23,811	19,177	18,923
Other	53,545	72,337	80,344	102,100
JAPANESE MALES				
Occupied	75,812	63,853	53,403	27,835
Agr. and Forestry	3,474	2,815	3,430	285
Fishing (Excl. Salt)	1,617	1,310	611	170
Mining	411	1,187	1,113	1,380
Manufacturing	13,796	17,530	16,482	5,739
Commerce	11,043	9,567	9,498	4,592
Transportation	8,360	7,466	6,273	3,871
Gov't. and Prof.	34,511	23,751	15,328	11,502
Other	2,600	227	668	296
OTHER MALES				
Occupied	28,880	16,629	14,169	8,165
Agr. and Forestry	797	315	312	86
Fishing (Excl. Salt)	176	280	150	35
Mining	964	424	309	260

TABLE 16 (continued)

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Occupation	*1930*	*1920*	*1915*	*1905*
Manufacturing	12,438	7,209	5,410	2,954
Commerce	8,432	4,538	3,849	2,163
Transportation	4,286	2,727	3,122	2,081
Gov't. and Prof.	873	455	232	143
Other	914	681	785	443

* For comparability, Domestic servants are excluded at all dates; Ceramics workers are as-signed to Manufacturing in 1905 and 1915; Salt workers are assigned to Manufacturing from Fishing in 1905, 1915, and 1920.

Sources: *Census of 1905, General Volume*, Table 25.
Census of 1915, Statistical Tables, Table 66.
Census of 1920, Descriptive Report, Appendix, Tables 51 and 52.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island, Tables 45 and 46.

659 a matter of course within the households that finally make use of them—items which in industrial societies are ordinarily purchased 462 in the market. In these activities women are occupied often from childhood to old age, and sometimes more vigorously than men. It is this economy of the household, and not real inactivity, that utilizes the efforts of females in useful pursuits but provides against their holding extra-familial occupations.

We can be certain that a goodly portion of the work done in Taiwan was concealed in the activities of women. When such is the case, estimates of manpower based on occupational data are necessarily distorted, especially when these data have been compiled without overt care to this problem. Here the only feasible procedure in measuring manpower is to exclude altogether this important segment—womanpower—and to concentrate only on the "male labor force" as representing the dominant working patterns of the population.

659 Even within the male population, however, not all of its members are eligible or able for permanent employment. Close to half of all males in Taiwan—practically all those without occupations—were consistently of ages in which employment was not customary. Age always has a great deal to do with whether a person follows an occupation or not, and often with the sort of work he may perform. Tasks that are looked upon as useful are commonly ones that infants and the aged, for example, lack the capacity for doing. In between these extremes, some males of certain ages are excluded from the labor force when sufficient value is attached to other activities such as school attendance, acquisition of special skills, patriarchy, or infirmity—either due to priority of the competing activities themselves (regardless of who performs them) or due to the kinds of persons involved.

These various factors determining employment are so closely associated with age that at any one time almost all of the men of young and middle adulthood in a population have some occupation. The exclusions are concentrated in the years of childhood and old age. For this reason it is meaningful to speak of the "population of working ages," and often more information is available about them as a whole than about the labor force itself.

The Labor Force in Taiwan

162 Let us continue this line of inquiry by inspecting the portions of 464 the population that are employed in relation to sex and age. With

some idea by this time of what the census standards of employment purported to be in Taiwan, one should then see how they are performed in practice. As a first step it is interesting to compare the occupied portion of the population with a corresponding group elsewhere. To judge from the proportions of men occupied by age in various countries—and under varied kinds of census administration—the extent of employment is approximately the same among the recorded populations of the world.[12]

In 1930, for example, these proportions in Taiwan closely resembled in most ages those for the United States, when a similar standard ("gainful occupation") was used in this country to assign status in the labor force. In Table 17, the figures for these two countries were nearly alike among all men above age 25, though they were markedly higher in Taiwan at younger ages. The parallel does not imply that "work" amounted to the same thing among men in both populations. Nor does their divergent use of young men suggest that Americans were necessarily more prone to idleness than Taiwanese. The chief significance of Table 17 comes rather from showing that work as defined for census purposes commands the energies of practically all of the young adult men in both populations,[13] despite the wide differences in economic organization between the two countries.

Granted the basic similarity, the principal difference in Table 17 deserves comment. In the first place men in Taiwan evidently begin to do regular work much earlier in life than in the Western world. Extension of general education into the years of later adolescence, as everyone is aware, is a recent and modern phenomenon and confined to a few countries, for it has just recently been felt to be indispensable to the skills that this new world requires. The luxury of being able to maintain these services is not readily appreciated without contrasting it with less fortunate areas. In Taiwan, as in most of Asia, practically everyone destined to have an occupation was already employed before age 20. Many, not shown here, even entered a permanent occupation, in which they remained, before reaching age 15.[14]

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[12] Notestein, Frank W., et al. (1944), p. 118.

[13] It is interesting to note that the differences made by different criteria—i.e., more refined labor force measures—are slight, if not trivial, for our purposes. Cf. Durand, John D. (1948), Appendix A, pp. 197-200.

[14] The census data showing dependency of childhood up to 1930 do not tell the whole story. In the latter 1930's the Japanese made concessions toward the extension of schooling, until by 1940 Taiwan was perhaps better in this regard than most Asiatic countries

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TABLE 17

THE LABOR FORCE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, TAIWAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Proportions of All Persons in Each Age Group Who Had an Occupation, Male and Female, 1930

Age Groups	*Taiwan (Taiwanese Only*)* *All Occupations*	*Occupied outside Agriculture*	*United States (All Groups)* *All Occupations*
	Males		
15–19	85.4	24.4	47.8
20–24	96.4	33.6	89.9
25–34	97.5	35.9	97.3
35–44	97.3	33.9	97.6
45–54	93.8	29.0	96.5
55–64	81.8	21.6	90.2
65+	54.7	11.9	58.3
	Females		
15–19	38.0	5.6	26.6
20–24	32.0	4.6	42.4
25–34	31.2	5.2	27.8
35–44	31.2	5.7	22.6
45–54	23.3	4.4	20.4
55–64	13.4	3.0	16.1
65+	4.3	1.3	8.0

* Domestic servants among the Taiwanese, male and female, have been excluded.
Sources: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *15th Census of the United States, 1930, Population*, Volume V, *General Report on Occupations*. Chap. 4, Table 2.
Taiwan—Census of 1930, Prefectural Volumes, Table 15.

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For reasons advanced above, data on occupations for women are less satisfactory. In Table 17, roughly one-third of the women in most ages up to 45 reported some occupation in 1930; but practically all stated that they were "farmers."[15] While superficially these figures appear to make a good showing against the data for the United States, the resemblance is misleading. In fact, on the basis of this information

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besides Japan itself. But these events occurred too late to have much effect on the ages of starting work.

[15] Even for the few women who acknowledged occupations outside of agriculture, the specific kinds of work that occupied the bulk of this group are, suspiciously, the very ones that are usually conducted in households. For example, most of the "industrially employed" women were engaged in handicraft production (wood and bamboo articles, food processing, Panama hats) typically conducted on a household scale.

one can really say next to nothing about the employment of Taiwanese women. Henceforth, except for special purposes, we shall confine ourselves to using occupational data for men only. 462

Occupational Composition of the Male Labor Force

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With the outline of total employment among males of different ages now established, it is only a matter of course to follow up by showing the occupational composition of the same group. This amounts to a close view of the data in Chapter III, considered for the moment apart from the differences in age structure and differences in the extent of employment in various ages.

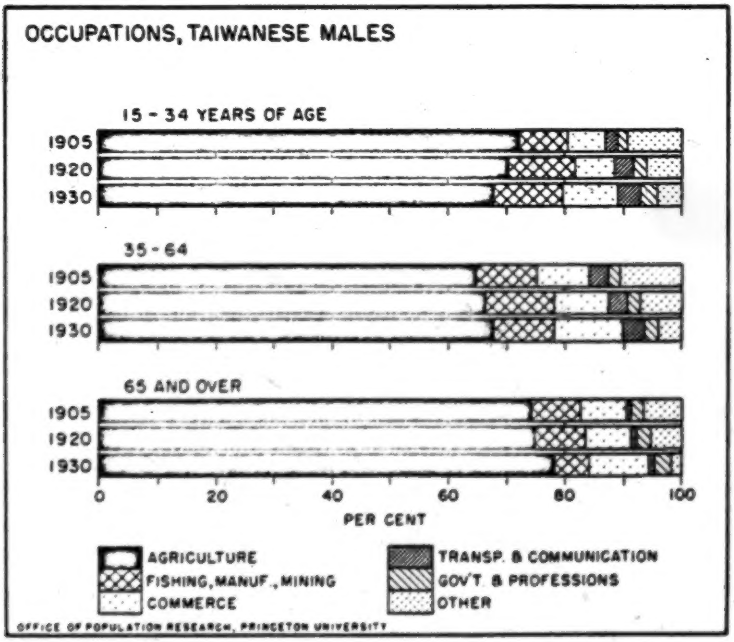

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Fig. 12. Occupational Composition of Taiwanese, by Age, 1905-1930.

Even taken by separate age groups, Taiwanese men were performing the same types of work after 25 years of colonial rule as at the beginning. The situation can be efficiently summarized in Fig. 12, which bears out in some detail the evidence of the last chapter. As regards the whole of the male working population, the stability existing from one time to another was not exaggerated in Chapter III.

962 463 Broad features like these were reduplicated in a degree that overshadows all accompanying trends—in this case down to the disposition of manpower at all working ages at successive dates. Fig. 12 shows clearly that this society had, up to 1930, put new generations to work along lines very similar to those of the old.

That these proportions should remain almost constant through time implies great stability of the agrarian social order. But this evidence is of a nature that best illustrates the more prominent relationships, and does not give much weight to the shifts that did occur. Farming activities again appear predominant—as in fact they were—to the point of eclipsing the trends in growth of other types of employment. These can be brought out only through the use of more responsive measures.

Moreover, even this degree of stability does not mean that individuals could not have moved from one occupation to another. A circulatory movement of individuals is fully consistent with the data of Fig. 12, provided that the avenues remained unchanging. It is not only possible but implied by the data themselves. In Fig. 12 the swelling and contracting of employment among different occupations from lower to higher age strata of course represent only the positions of people in these ages at one time; but a pattern that is repeated so closely in three successive censuses can hardly reflect just the events of a short period. Over such a long span of time, unless the various occupations lost their members through widely different rates of death and retirement, this pattern could come about only from losing them through movement to other occupations.

If part of this movement is a matter of such circulation, it demonstrates all the more strongly the part of traditional institutions in maintaining the society against the forces of change. Movement of this type will not be readily distinguished from shifts as a result of actual change, when the two are later analyzed apart from the composition of the labor force. It is therefore important to make clear at this point that whatever the extent of such shifts (as yet undisclosed by these techniques), there must always have been a prominent element of circulation involved.

Movement between Occupations

463 [illegible] data of Fig. 12 are poorly adapted to illustrate the nature of occupational movements in the population. Agricultural employment is preponderant, and masks the shifts that individuals actually

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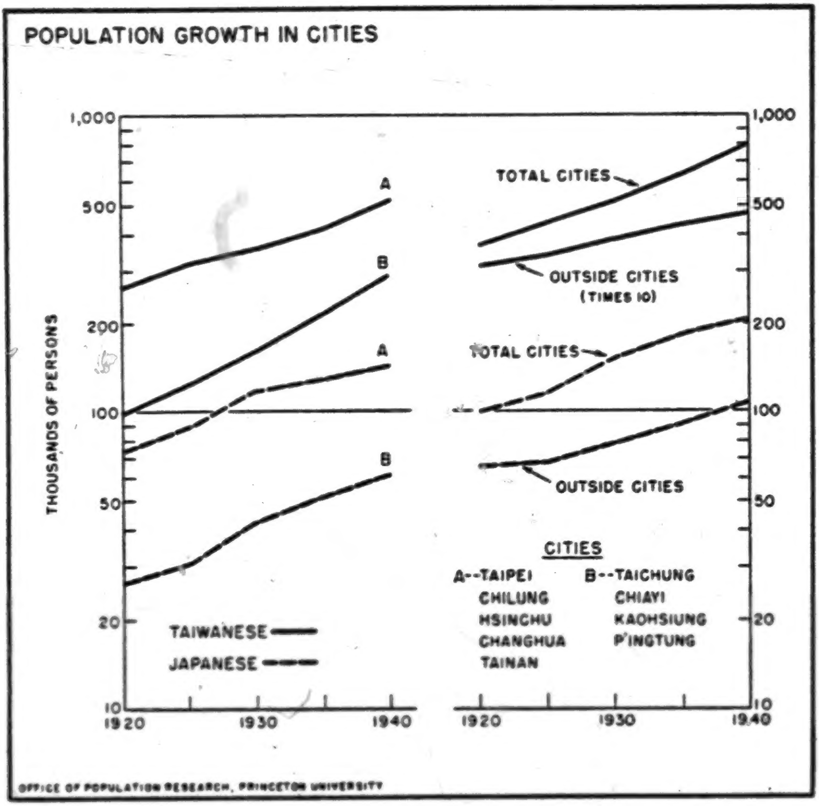

Fig. 19. Growth of Population in Major Cities of Taiwan, 1920-1940. Taiwanese and Japanese.

both places. They certainly esteemed urban more than rustic life; but work of a similar nature was also available to them outside the cities. For them the place of residence had less influence on their type of livelihood.

Ethnic Composition of Cities

The growth of cities depended on only a small part of all Tai- 563
wanese to supply the necessary migrants. It was not so with the Jap- 162 ●
anese. In a sense, the majority of them were migrants, having been born outside of Taiwan. More important, however, nearly two-thirds of all Japanese took up residence in cities and presumably stayed there (see Table 25). They found an urban setting most advanta-

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TABLE 25
PROPORTIONS OF TAIWAN'S POPULATION OF EACH ETHNIC GROUP
Living Inside the Nine Major Cities in Taiwan, and in Taipei City

	1920		*1940*	
	Per Cent of Total Population	*Sex Ratios*	*Per Cent of Total Population*	*Sex Ratios*
Nine Cities Combined				
Taiwanese	10.5	106	14.7	104
Japanese	60.2	119	65.6	105
Other	68.4	345	59.8	175
Taipei City Alone				
Taiwanese	3.1	102	4.0	99
Japanese	27.5	117	29.3	100
Other	38.6	364	26.8	166

Source: *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, Table 1.

geous for conducting the new activities that they brought with them to Taiwan. Japanese proceeded to develop Taiwan's cities to provide an appropriate environment of modern banking facilities, centers of government administration, reservoirs of professional skills, and headquarters of private business.

Personal comforts, too, were not neglected. Running water, systems of sewage disposal, gas, electricity, and cinemas first appeared in these cities, and did not spread far beyond them. For those who could afford the time and expense, life in Taipei was graced by a nearby golf course and several fashionable vacation resorts. Japanese were energetic in constructing large public buildings conspicuously of Western architectural styles, thoroughfares and parks for their gratification and diversion. The section of Taichung City that was occupied by Japanese was referred to fondly as "little Kyoto."[13] Cities understandably were attractive places for Japanese to reside.

The Japanese affinity for urban life was exceeded only among the mainland Chinese that were found in Taiwan.[14] The explanation in their case is somewhat different. These people were admitted to the island as small merchants or as laborers in many of the modern enterprises that flourished wherever there were Japanese. In this respect they were distinct from Taiwanese, as their occupational composition indicates (see Table 16). Otherwise they merged in language, customs, and sympathies most closely with the urban population of Taiwanese.

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[13] OPNAV, Civil Affairs Handbook (1944). *Taichu Province*, p. 149 ff.

[14] These made up almost all of the category "Other Nationalities" in Table 25 and in published census tables.

The Chinese tended to remain in cities or commercial towns. The authorities held them under suspicion and close scrutiny, and often confined them by labor contract to menial positions. On the whole they did not become permanent residents of Taiwan; by their sex ratios they appear as a relatively transient group (though some of them intermarried with Taiwanese). Many were merely seasonal workers who remained in Taiwan for only part of the year.

The ethnic composition of the urban population was, like its increase, a product of migration from outside cities rather than growth from within. Different cities did not all exert the same attraction for people according to ethnic background. Variations between cities in ethnic composition (see Table 26) were scarcely a matter of *Taiwanese* being drawn less into some cities than into others, for they comprised the broad population base in every one. These differ-

TABLE 26

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MAJOR CITIES IN TAIWAN

Per Cent of Total Population in Each Ethnic Group

1920, 1930 and 1940

	Taiwanese			*Japanese*			*Others*		
*Cities**	*1920*	*1930*	*1940*	*1920*	*1930*	*1940*	*1920*	*1930*	*1940*
Taipei	66.4	64.1	67.9	27.8	29.4	28.1	5.8	6.6	4.1
Chilung	70.3	68.4	69.5	24.8	24.7	24.8	4.9	6.9	5.7
Hsinchu	90.7	87.4	86.3	8.3	11.3	12.7	1.1	1.2	1.0
Taichung	70.5	72.8	78.9	28.0	24.4	19.8	1.5	2.8	1.3
Changhua	97.0	93.6	94.0	2.3	4.5	5.1	.7	1.9	.9
Tainan	81.1	80.5	86.0	15.9	15.8	11.7	3.0	3.7	2.3
Chiayi	83.8	82.3	87.4	14.5	14.8	10.8	1.7	2.9	1.8
Kaohsiung	74.1	72.2	79.8	24.1	24.6	18.6	1.8	3.2	1.6
P'ingtung	84.2	82.8	85.8	14.2	13.8	12.3	1.6	3.4	1.9
Total	75.9	73.9	78.0	20.6	21.5	19.2	3.5	4.5	2.8

* Boundaries of all cities have been adjusted to those of 1935.
Sources: *1920 Population Register*, Table 2.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Tables 1 and 2.
Census of 1935, Statistical Tables, Table 1.

ences are to be explained primarily by the preferences of Japanese for certain cities as opposed to others.[15]

We may thus regard the proportion of Japanese in the population as the major element in the variation between cities. The ethnic composition of each city was remarkably stable from 1920 to 1940, though almost all doubled in population. Taipei, Chilung, Taichung, and Kaohsiung were all more than one-fifth Japanese at each census date. This is least surprising in the case of Taipei, for it was the administrative hub of the entire island, and a thriving center of foreign trade as well. Chilung because of its natural harbor became established early as the principal port of access to and from Japan. It kept this position even after the harbor no longer handled heavy traffic, by possessing some of the key industries intended to complement Japan's war effort. Taichung was in the fertile middle section of the island, and prospered enormously from the collecting, processing, and marketing of agricultural produce. Kaohsiung was the center from which the Japanese mounted their most extensive efforts at modernization: in the city itself and its immediate environs were concentrated the major processing industries of the island. Large sums were spent in improving its harbor to facilitate the passage of this new production out of the island.[16]

The remaining five Municipalities were more typically Chinese in atmosphere, with the alien features of Japanese presence kept more in the background. Whatever their types, these cities of Taiwan were the most important places where Japanese residents mingled with Taiwanese. Japanese nationals were scattered over the rest of the island in administrative and technical posts, public and private, but only in these cities did they associate regularly with Taiwanese. Only there did many Taiwanese who were non-farmers come into frequent contact with Japanese. Consequently, one would expect that the urban environment was the principal channel of modern influence.

Even in these cities there were certain obstacles in the way of such contact. The barrier was not entirely one of language, for Taiwanese soon acquired the rudiments of the Japanese tongue through school-

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[15] Mainland Chinese varied almost as much as their share in the total population by city. But they were so few, and their stay in Taiwan so impermanent, that they cannot be considered a very important part of even the urban population.

[16] Kaohsiung City was also built up as a base for southward expansion in the Pacific Ocean, but did not have the opportunity to fulfill the promise of this investment.

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ing and practice. Japanese did many things to discourage free intercourse between the two groups, and raised exaggerated fears of animosity from the Taiwanese among their own kind.[17] 563

The Japanese maintained high levels of living in Taiwan. Their wealth did not create the separation between the two groups, but helped to enlarge it. The opulence of Japanese was more than simply a matter of superior income (which the Taiwanese might have emulated); it was also founded on privilege. 162 563 361

For example, wherever possible they lived apart in special portions of each city. These sections were arranged so as to provide the facilities that they were in a position to command—Japanese shops, entertainment, and cleanliness, one of the greatest of all luxuries in Asia. Influential Japanese strove to put themselves in such surroundings, whereupon they allowed poorer sections to develop as Taiwanese residents could best afford. Owing to this combination of jealous care and neglect, the central districts of most cities were elaborately laid out with efficient street patterns and handsome landscapes—but with residential finery and modern public buildings concentrated in a few blocks and the indescribable slums that Asia often produces spread over the remainder.[18]

It is easy to see the nature of residential segregation in Taipei City, where it was carried farthest (see Fig. 20, based on 1935 census data). There were two large concentrations of Taiwanese, at the north and the southeast corners. These were the sites of the original pair of settlements that grew into the present city. The space in between had been gradually built up before 1895 as the seat of Manchu administration for the island. It was razed and replaced by the Japanese (following a destructive typhoon in 1912) to make way for new construction that they planned. The Japanese built this central area themselves, and therefore to their own design. It had a core in which almost none but Japanese eventually lived, surrounded by a

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[17] One can say that these fears were exaggerated without implying that they were without foundation. By their repressive administration, Japanese invited widespread ill-will in the population. Much of this might have been allayed if they had not on the one hand advertised the benefits of their rule and, on the other, systematically cut off any opportunities for Taiwanese to compete with Japanese on equal footing. This ambivalent policy even undermined some of their foremost objectives by impeding their use of the local labor supply in the most effective ways for war production.

[18] The enforcement of health and sanitary regulations held the two groups in complete equality before the law. In looking back at the severity of these measures, Chinese have remembered them as instances of oppression by the Japanese. But by such means the authorities were able to avoid the unhealthful conditions usually associated with urban crowding in Asia. See Hsü Tze-wei (1946), p. 444 ff.

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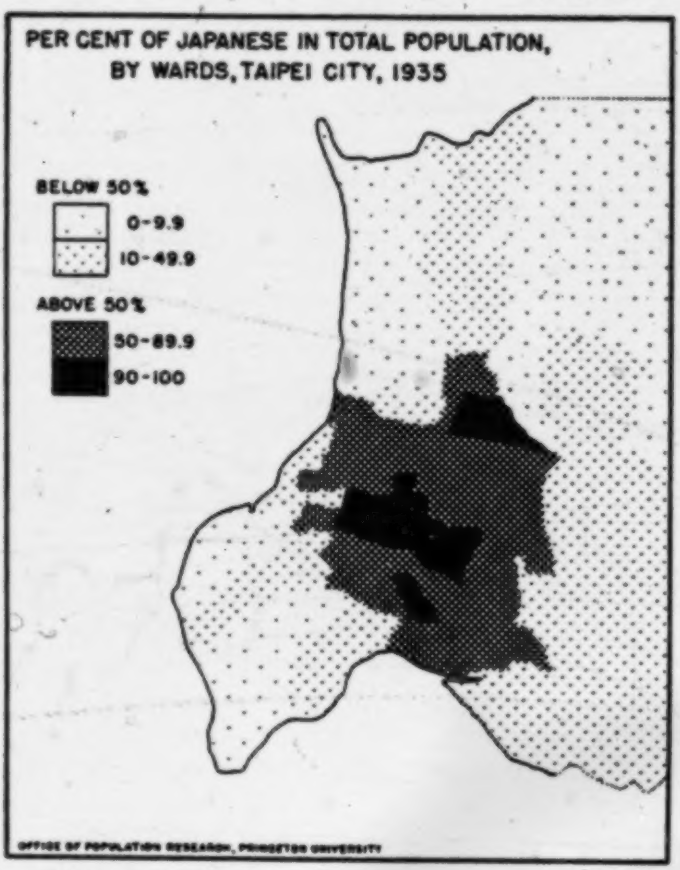
PER CENT OF JAPANESE IN TOTAL POPULATION,
BY WARDS, TAIPEI CITY, 1935
BELOW 50%
0-9.9
10-49.9
ABOVE 50%
50-89.9
90-100
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Fig. 20. Residential Segregation of Japanese in Taipei City.

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substantial area where Japanese residents predominated. Around the fringes of this modern district, other Japanese (reportedly those of lower income and social status[19]) lived more thinly mixed with Taiwanese. Almost one-half of the city's surface was taken up by poorer districts composed entirely of Taiwanese dwellings, shops, and open markets.

There is also another way to see how the separation of living quarters kept the two groups apart—in terms of persons rather than the space involved. Table 27 illustrates this aspect of segregation for

[19] OPNAV, Civil Affairs Handbook (1944), *Taihoku Province*, p. 133. A more comprehensive account of the growth of Taipei City, in relation to the surrounding region, is given in Ch'en Cheng-hsiang (1952).

TABLE 27

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN TAIPEI CITY, 1925 AND 193

Taiwanese and Japanese Population Distributed by the Proportion Japanese in Each "Ward"

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Per Cent Japanese in Each Ward	*1925*		*1935*	
	Number	*Per Cent of Total*	*Number*	*Per Cent of Total*
		Taiwanese		
0– 9.9	94,551	73.4	109,309	62.5
10.0– 49.9	25,681	19.9	48,815	27.9
50.0– 89.9	7,964	6.2	16,508	9.4
90.0–100.0	606	0.5	384	0.2
Total Taiwanese	128,802	100.0	175,016	100.0
		Japanese		
0– 9.9	3,069	5.8	3,640	4.5
10.0– 49.9	11,462	21.5	18,173	22.2
50.0– 89.9	24,926	46.7	48,775	59.7
90.0–100.0	13,884	26.0	11,116	13.6
Total Japanese	53,341	100.0	81,704	100.0

Sources: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables,* Table 2.
Census of 1935, Statistical Tables, Table 2.

Taipei City in 1925 and 1935. Here both Taiwanese and Japanese have been grouped according to the degree of concentration of Japanese in each "ward." While the non-Japanese wards held the bulk of Taiwanese, there was some considerable area of overlap where the two groups were relatively mixed. From the evidence of this table, many Japanese who were arriving in Taiwan were forced to go to residential areas that contained some Taiwanese residents. This is shown by the relative gain of Japanese in the sections that were not purely Japanese, but where Japanese residents were in the majority. With its members increasing, the Japanese community eventually had to mix more widely with Taiwanese, since the areas that were already more than 90 per cent Japanese could not absorb any newcomers. They moved into wards with only the "better element" of Taiwanese, however, and managed to keep this mixture to a minimum. The proportion of Japanese living in predominantly Taiwanese wards actually fell off very slightly.

From the Taiwanese side, moving into mixed sections was carried somewhat further. Taiwanese were beginning to spread into wards that were not purely Taiwanese, sections closer to the center of the

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city which they had occupied together with Japanese. Because there were more of them, and because they had been more concentrated among their own kind before, the Taiwanese moving into these areas contributed more to the mixture than the Japanese. The data here do not signify that it was very extensive. But [illegible] some difference which of these two aspects of segregation we choose to use as a standard of comparison.

This trend in the segregation of urban residents was of some significance in the other cities during the years when they were growing rapidly, for the system was put under strain by the continuous arrival of new immigrants. On the whole, the Japanese were successful in housing most of their people in residential wards that were predominantly Japanese, and well-to-do Taiwanese were moderately successful in entering sections containing some Japanese, but not into the sections most prized by the Japanese.

For Japanese, no other city offered living quarters and facilities so exclusive as those of Taipei (see Table 28). In every one of these six other Municipalities they lived more widely intermixed with Taiwanese (though not necessarily at the same levels of comfort). Kao-

TABLE 28

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN SIX CITIES OF TAIWAN, 1935

Taiwanese and Japanese Population Distributed by the Proportion Japanese of Each Ward

Per Cent Japanese in Each Ward	*Chilung*	*Hsinchu*	*Taichung*	*Tainan*	*Chiayi*	*Kaohsiung*
			Taiwanese			
0– 9.9	56.6	68.5	52.7	50.0	58.2	56.1
10.0– 49.9	34.2	30.7	42.7	48.3	41.5	36.2
50.0– 89.9	8.9	0.7	4.5	1.7	0.3	7.7
90.0–100.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Taiwanese	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			Japanese			
0– 9.9	5.7	16.4	6.8	11.0	15.7	7.9
10.0– 49.9	35.6	54.3	53.0	69.9	80.0	38.6
50.0– 89.9	50.9	16.6	34.9	11.1	4.3	53.5
90.0–100.0	7.8	12.7	5.3	8.0	0.0	0.0
Total Japanese	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 2.

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hsiung and Chiayi had not a single ward with as high as 90 per cent 162•
of its population Japanese. For Taiwanese, on the other hand, Taipei 361
consisted neither more nor less of mixed wards than the other cities. In all, at least nine-tenths of the Taiwanese population of every city stayed in districts in which less than a majority of the inhabitants were Japanese.

The Taiwanese in Cities

Of all Taiwanese, so few went to cities that one is prompted to 162
ask whether there were not some special factors present restricting the size of this migration. The effects of such a selective process over 166
many years should produce differences in the characteristics of persons 463
living in cities and of those living outside.

Since few if any newcomers had an opportunity to take up agriculture in the cities, a prominent feature of cityward migration was a movement to new work. To the extent that it was, one would expect that the migrants were the types of persons who usually undertook new occupations in Taiwan—for example, men rather than women, primarily in the ages of young adulthood. If the migrant population had been limited to these categories, cities with large proportions of migrants in their populations must have had disproportionate numbers of young men as compared with the rest of the island. Such a tendency has characterized rapid urbanization elsewhere.

In addition, cities frequently offer opportunities for employment that are considered superior to those found in the countryside. This is especially true of many agrarian societies, where rural poverty sometimes reaches extremes that make the meanest of urban jobs seem attractive. Where such conditions exist, movement to cities very often serves to drain off large numbers of men in young working ages who have lost or overcome their attachment to farming.

In 1935, these effects of age and sex selection were hardly perceptible in Taiwan's urban population taken as a whole. The age composition of all their males combined was nearly the same as the rural population (Table 29). Surprisingly, urban females likewise had almost the same age structure as those outside of cities. Hence, there could have been no sweeping dislocation of persons of different age and sex groups as a result of urbanization in Taiwan.

There are special circumstances in which it is not hard to imagine 162
some movement of single individuals in an agrarian society; this has 164

TABLE 29

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AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF NINE MAJOR CITIES, 1925 AND 1935

Per Cent of Total Population in Selected Age Intervals, Male and Female

Age	*Males*		*Females*		*Males per 100 Females*	
	Inside	*Outside*	*Inside*	*Outside*	*Inside*	*Outside*
			1925			
0–14	36.5	40.2	37.5	40.0	101	105
15–39	44.1	40.6	39.5	37.6	116	113
40-64	17.8	17.4	19.5	18.8	95	96
65+	1.6	1.8	3.5	3.6	47	52
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	104	104
			1935			
0–14	41.0	43.2	41.1	42.9	103	103
15–39	41.6	38.5	39.0	37.0	110	107
40–64	15.9	16.5	16.8	16.8	97	101
65+	1.5	1.8	3.1	3.3	50	57
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	103	103

Sources: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 3.
Census of 1935, Statistical Tables, Table 7.

been known to occur in the form of contractual servitude by children, of young men (though not frequently young women) shifting to non-agricultural employment, and of movement by old persons to reside with emigrant kin. But it is inconceivable that these deviant events might have occurred jointly in chance coordination so as to reproduce the rural age structure so closely in cities. Such a migration as this could have been possible only if many people travelled to cities in family units and not as isolated individuals. A great many migrants therefore must have moved merely because they were members of migrant kinship groups.[20]

This situation did not hold with equal force in all cities. Variations in composition among separate cities were as great as the distinction between city and non-city. Assuming the age group 15 to 39 among males to be the most responsive to new opportunities for

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[20] Estimates for the age composition of the *migrants* lend weight to this supposition. Survivors to 1935 of people who were already in cities in 1925 can be estimated at every age by subtracting the deaths that one would expect of them; the amount by which these survivors fail to account for the people actually found in cities in 1935 gives a fair idea of the persons gained through migration at each age. Though migrants measured in this way were somewhat concentrated in young adult ages, there were also impressive numbers in younger and older ages.

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TABLE 30
DIFFERENCES IN AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF TAIWANESE BY CITY, 1935

Cities	*Per Cent 15-39 of all Taiwanese Males*	*Sex Ratios 15-39*	*Sex Ratios all Ages*	*Growth of City: Ratio of Taiwanese Population 1940/1920*
Taipei	41.8	106	98	2.05
Chilung	42.4	112	103	2.07
Hsinchu	38.2	101	100	1.76
Taichung	43.2	115	107	2.92
Changhua	39.0	102	100	1.67
Tainan	40.6	110	105	1.97
Chiayi	42.2	112	105	2.58
Kaohsiung	42.8	120	110	3.56
P'ingtung	43.5	118	108	2.55
Total, All Cities	41.6	110	103	2.22

Source: *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7.

employment, we can use this group to summarize the differences (see Table 30). The cities of rapid growth—i.e., with relatively large proportions of immigrants—were the cities with more young men. Cities that grew faster did so in part by attracting more men in young working ages, and thus separated many of them from normal family life. Significantly, the age composition of females was nearly the same in *all* the individual cities, and thus was similar in each to rural communities.

The non-rural character of Municipalities in Taiwan, therefore, did not of itself make for non-rural age structure, but the same factors that were behind the more rapid growth of some cities tended to draw selectively from the population of different ages outside cities. One should always bear in mind that the greatest of the differences in Table 30 are moderate when considered alongside societies in which urban growth has been associated with sweeping modernization.

Something in addition can be learned about the particular characteristics of separate cities from the nature of economic activities in each. One single census table of persons with occupations was published in 1930 for individual cities, with the males of all ethnic groups lumped together. Cities were farthest removed of any civil

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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TABLE 31
INTER-CITY DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION
Per Cent of Occupied Males in Selected Types of Occupation in Each of Seven Municipalities, 1930
All Nationality Groups

Cities	*Manufacturing*	*Commerce*	*Transportation*	*Government*	*Agriculture*	*Other Occupations*
Taipei	26	30	10	18	6	10
Chilung	16	21	23	9	4	27
Hsinchu	21	25	10	13	20	11
Taichung	23	28	10	19	14	6
Tainan	28	28	13	18	5	8
Chiayi	22	29	10	12	20	7
Kaohsiung	24	19	20	11	13	13
Total Seven Cities	24	27	13	15	9	12

Source: *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, Table 40.

divisions from rural conditions. Nevertheless, large blocs of Taiwan's urban population still supported themselves by farming. Only three Municipalities in 1930 had as few as one-twentieth of their working males engaged in agriculture. It is small wonder that these cities had failed to show symptoms of advanced urbanism in other respects.

Other types of employment in these cities also had certain special features. Government administration in Taipei, transshipping of seaport cargoes in Chilung and Kaohsiung, and sugar processing in Taichung and Tainan were reflected as important activities in their share of all male employment. These figures, pertaining to 1930, reveal nothing of the intensified industrial activity in these cities in the succeeding decade. They are the only available indication in demographic terms of the peculiarities of individual cities. In any event, we are less interested in these peculiar elements than in the relations between types of employment and urban settlement among Taiwanese. Since Table 31 does not show Taiwanese separately, it is affected by differences in the proportions of Japanese and in their work among the various cities. Hence the information, while illuminating, is less useful than one might wish.

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More information is available for the population of all seven cities combined. By means of some estimation, we can find the occupational

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TABLE 32
OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION IN CITIES OF TAIWAN BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1930*
Distribution of Occupied Males by Occupation and Nationality

	Taiwanese	*Japanese*	*Other Nationalities*
A. Per Cents by Occupation			
Agriculture	13.1	0.9	0.2
Fishing	2.1	2.2	0.5
Mining	2.1	0.2	1.1
Manufacturing	22.8	18.6	43.8
Commerce	29.1	19.6	27.8
Transportation	13.7	10.2	19.1
Govt. & Prof.	6.4	44.4	3.3
Other	10.7	3.9	4.2
Total Occupied	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per Cent Occupied of All Males	54.4	58.0	76.8
B. Per Cents by Ethnic Group			
Agriculture	97.5	2.4	0.1
Fishing	70.8	27.2	2.0
Mining	89.9	3.8	6.3
Manufacturing	65.0	19.0	16.0
Commerce	73.2	17.8	9.0
Transportation	69.1	18.5	12.4
Govt. & Prof.	28.2	70.0	1.8
Other	84.7	11.1	4.2
Total Occupied	67.4	24.0	8.6

* Includes the seven cities of Municipal rank in 1930.
Source: Estimated from *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, Table 39.

composition of each ethnic group separately (Table 32).[21] Taking account only of males with occupation, these data represent the urban Taiwanese at less of a disadvantage next to the Japanese than was true over the entire island. Of course, one must remember that Taiwanese (and Mainland Chinese) in the same type of work with Jap-

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[21] The necessity to "estimate" arises because the occupational data *by ethnic groups* were given in "Occupation" units (i.e., persons with a principal occupation plus persons with a secondary occupation), and counted some persons twice. In the tables shown here, the ethnic composition of "Occupations" has been applied to the total of persons (males) in each occupation.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

•162 anese usually had subordinate positions. Nevertheless, it seems con-
463 clusive that by moving into cities Taiwanese were able to narrow
563 the gap that separated their forms of livelihood from those of the
Japanese.

The ethnic composition of occupied persons (appended to Table 32) indicates how the differences in occupational structure among these ethnic groups were weighted in the urban population. Taiwanese, of course, predominated in all lines except in government service and professional activities. Keeping these coveted positions in their own hands was one of the ways in which Japanese were able to live side by side with the rest of the population and avoid the pressure of competition.

Chinese nationals ("Other Nationalities" in Table 32) in these cities also appeared in a few types of work far more than in the working population as a whole. Their specialties were of an opposite kind: many worked as laborers in small manufacturing enterprises and as longshoremen, accounting for their large share of all "Manufacturing" and "Transportation" workers.

TABLE 33

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TAIWANESE MALES REPORTING AN OCCUPATION,

162 INSIDE AND OUTSIDE MAJOR CITIES, 1905, 1920, 1930

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	1905		*1920*		*1930*	
	*Inside**	*Outside*	*Inside†*	*Outside*	*Inside‡*	*Outside*
Agriculture	2.3	72.1	13.2	71.9	13.1	74.0
Fishing	.6	2.9	1.2	2.3	2.1	2.0
Mining	28.4	5.4	1.1	1.4	2.1	1.3
Manufacturing			27.1	6.9	22.8	5.9
Commerce	37.7	6.4	28.9	6.4	29.1	8.2
Transportation	10.4	1.9	11.2	2.8	13.7	2.8
Govt. & Prof.	5.6	1.7	6.7	1.9	6.4	2.3
Other	15.0	9.6	10.6	6.4	10.7	3.5
Total Occup.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Comprises the cities of Taipei, Taichung, and Tainan. The boundaries for Taipei in this tabulation were smaller than the city as subsequently organized.

† Cities of Taipei, Taichung, and Tainan, with the same boundaries used at later census dates.

‡ Cities of Taipei, Chilung, [illegible], Taichung, Tainan, Chiayi, Kaohsiung.

Sources: *Census of 1905, Detailed Tables, Prefectural Volume*, Table 17.
Census of 1920, Prefectural Volume, Table 16.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Table 39.

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MIGRATION AND THE GROWTH OF CITIES

Finally, the role of migration in social change can be clear only if we can make comparisons at different points of time. Occupational profiles of city and non-city working males are available in not quite the same form for three separate dates. The census reports of 1905 and 1920 each included a table of occupied persons in three cities (Taipei, Taichung and Tainan). Placed next to the corresponding figures in 1930 (Table 33), these early data are reasonably similar in all three years.

Not all of the same cities are included, and so the occupational distributions for cities alone do not stand close comparison with each other. One's attention is therefore drawn to the structure of occupations *outside* the cities involved. In Table 33, it appears that by removing the small group of urban working persons from the total population of Taiwanese, one in effect also removes most of the diversification in employment over time, and consequently a large share of the social changes that occurred in Taiwan. In other words, the new activities that resulted from Japanese occupation remained sealed up in the few urban centers. The Taiwanese population outside of these cities remained essentially as agrarian as at the beginning of Japanese rule.[22]

Even if as centers of innovation we did not consider Taiwan's cities important, a study of migration would have made them so. Permanent migration was rare among Taiwanese; but of those who migrated, a large proportion went to a few cities. Even though these cities were not growing fast enough to enlarge their share of all Taiwanese very substantially, they did the greatest part in redistributing the population.

The real significance of these shifts of residence arose from the fact that they were also shifts in activities. For the most part withdrawal from agriculture meant exit from rural communities. People departed every year to large towns or cities that had some provision for more diverse kinds of livelihood. It was primarily in these centers that the Japanese fostered modern enterprises and developed a need for labor. Migration was one of the forms of the response to

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[22] Obviously, since more cities are represented in the 1930 figures, the figures themselves are biased and there is some chance of bias in the conclusion that we have drawn. By taking occupied men of all ethnic groups, the same comparison can be made based on the *same three cities* at all dates. This is possible because the table for all ethnic groups was published for each city separately (cf. Table 31, above). The result is the same, in that the data indicate no change in occupational structure outside even these three cities.

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166 these new opportunities for employment. It steadily brought more
162 Taiwanese into contact with the modern side of the Japanese economic program.

Yet even though movement to the cities did widen the horizons of
a few Taiwanese, it was surrounded by circumstances that tended to
166 minimize this effect. The familial character of the migration made
178 the break between country and city less sharp than it might have
been. Removal to a city did not expose migrants very readily to whatever new influences were there. These were all dominated by Japanese, who kept most of their innovations to themselves and erected barriers against free intercourse with the rest of the population.

Urban growth therefore did not promote general social change among the Taiwanese. It removed into cities those who were to feel the strongest effects of contact with these alien elements. Migration thus helped to absorb the modern aspects of economic development so that they did not intrude into the affairs of rural communities.

THE SETTING FOR FAMILY LIFE

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Chinese cultural norms set no limit to the number of family relatives that it is desirable to maintain in a single household, but attach great merit to holding together many branches of a family in one unit. Though Chinese are thus inclined to feel that the bigger the family the better—there seem to be no general class or status differences in the ideal size that they should strive for—so many degrees of relationship are eligible for inclusion that other considerations usually enter and help to settle the question. In practice, the real limitations tend to be how strongly a particular family feels it can enhance its prestige through adherence to tradition, and how well it can afford financially to do so.

TABLE 43

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TAIWAN IN SUCCESSIVE CENSUSES

Average Persons per Household, All Types of Household, All Ethnic Groups, 1905 to 1940

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1905	5.2
1915	5.3
1920	5.3
1925	5.5
1930	5.7
1935	5.8
1940	6.0

Sources: *1935 Census, Statistical Tables*, Descriptive Section, p. 30.
1940 Census, Summary Returns, published in the Gazette of the Government-General of Taiwan, April 22, 1941.

Despite the considerable emphasis on their size and cohesion, these family units actually are not exceptionally large. From the total numbers of households and of people, published with the regular report of each census of Taiwan, we can first establish a few main features of the case to guide the more detailed discussion that is to follow. Expressed as the average number of persons to a household, these figures show that the size of households (for everyone, mixing together all nationality groups and all types of household arrangements) started out in 1905 at 5.2, and rose steadily during the census period (see Table 43). The increase was not especially rapid, but it was unbroken and marked by acceleration with the passage of time. Correlated with what is already known about the growth of population in Taiwan, this steady movement implies that

592 households were not keeping up with the increase of people, and
162 that family groups were therefore undergoing some change in their
composition. Though some aspects of this change can be shown more satisfactorily below, the process is most easily seen in these figures, since they cover the complete span of the census administration.

162 As usual, the published results of these census materials did not
128 do justice to the care that went into their collection. Household
tables were not always shown in useful form, and the figures of Table 43 do not convey very much even about the size of families in Taiwan. Obviously in order to draw reliable conclusions about families of Taiwanese it must be possible to separate them as a group in the statistics, and to make sure that the statistics employed are a fair representation of family groups. For exactly this purpose, the Japanese treated one kind of household as standard, the so-called "ordinary" household, to cover the "normal" types of living arrangements. People in certain special categories were excluded; residents of these non-family households, or "quasi-households," will be omitted from most of the tables that follow.[4]

162 Information about quasi-households is sketchy and hard to find.
592 The size of these establishments is unknown for separate nationality
563 groups, perhaps through a deliberate effort to conceal the military
forces (though they would nearly all have been classified as Japanese anyway, according to the status of the person in charge). The figures can be pieced together for the entire population, and appear in Tables 44 and 45. Quasi-households were a very small part of the total, but accounted for a much larger portion of non-Taiwanese. Only one person in a hundred of all nationality groups lived in such circumstances; 6.6 per cent of Japanese and 20 per cent of Mainland Chinese lived in quasi-households in 1930, but relatively few of the Taiwanese were found outside of ordinary households. Since Taiwanese are the main source of interest in the problem, the few living in quasi-households are unimportant, and for the remainder of this chapter the term "household" will be used to refer to "ordinary" households only.

On the average, ordinary households of Taiwanese contained be-

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[4] They comprise people counted in hospitals, prisons, schools, military barracks, police and other special dormitories, and hotels. Although they must be removed before the household data can be said to represent patterns of familial life, the line drawn between the two types of household is not entirely rigorous. Many of these people, especially the ones in hotels and schools, were only temporarily absent from their homes, and their family affiliations may have continued undiminished.

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TABLE 44
PER CENT OF TAIWAN'S POPULATION LIVING IN "ORDINARY" HOUSEHOLDS, 1905-1930
Both Sexes

Year	*Persons Living in Ordinary Households*	*Persons Living in "Quasi-Households"*	*Per Cent Living in Ordinary Households*
	All Nationality Groups		
1905	3,021,260	18,491	99.4
1915	3,461,282	18,640	99.5
1920	3,624,403	30,905	99.2
1930	4,546,970	45,567	99.0
	Taiwanese		
1920	3,454,956	11,551	99.7
1930	4,293,234	20,447	99.5
	Japanese		
1920	151,862	12,404	92.4
1930	213,314	14,967	93.4
	Other Nationalities*		
1920	17,585	6,950	71.7
1930	40,422	10,153	79.9

* "Other nationalities" consists almost entirely of Mainland Chinese.

Sources: *Census of 1905, General Volume of Statistical Tables*, Table 114.
Census of 1915, Statistical Tables, Table 109 and 116.
Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix, Appendix Table 149, 164, 165 and 169.
Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island, Table 5.

tween five and six persons during that portion of the census period when they can be observed separately. Because Taiwanese made up almost the entire population and because most of them lived in family groups, the initial approximation of Table 43 was fairly close to the actual size of their households. Differences begin to emerge when other nationality groups are listed by themselves; the households of both Japanese and Mainland Chinese on the average were smaller by a considerable margin than those of the Taiwanese, and remained that way (see Table 45).

Not only did Taiwanese follow the ideal of large households more closely than the other population groups in Taiwan, but they displayed a different pattern in approaching it. Distributed according to the number of persons in each, only the households of Taiwanese

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TABLE 45

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY TYPE AND NATIONALITY OF HEAD

Average Persons Per Household, "Ordinary" Households and "Quasi-Households"
All Nationality Groups, Taiwanese, Japanese and Other Nationalities
1905 to 1930

Year	*Ordinary Households*	*Quasi-Households*
	All Nationality Groups	
1905	5.19	6.2
1915	5.31	12.4
1920	5.30	20.6
1930	5.64	17.1
	Taiwanese	
1920	5.45	
1930	5.82	
	Japanese	
1920	3.87	
1930	3.74	
	Other Nationalities*	
1920	3.79	
1930	3.84	

* "Other nationalities" consists almost entirely of Mainland Chinese.
Source: From data of preceding table. Certain army and navy barracks were included as quasi-households in the Census of 1920 for the first time, accounting for much of the increase over 1915 and 1905 in the average size of quasi-households shown above.

were in a pattern that reveals a predominance of families with two or more generations, families of the sort that must be required to maintain a high rate of natural increase. Their households were found most commonly with four and five members, more rarely of smaller sizes. The process by which the average size of Taiwanese households rose from 1905 on was not a completely general shift toward larger units, but rather one of forming relatively fewer small households (with the exception of people living alone) and raising the proportion of very large ones (see Fig. 30). The sizes most often achieved remained very nearly the same as before, and the distribution simply became more skewed. (Expressed in terms of the numbers of persons involved, the effect of this change would, of course, 592 be multiplied in households of larger size, since they were larger by virtue of containing many people.)

563 A great many Japanese and Chinese nationals staying in Taiwan
•162 obviously were separated from close family ties—for example, those who lived alone, and perhaps some of those in households of two or three persons, not to mention the ones who stayed in quasi-households. Few in either group maintained households in Taiwan as large as those that were usual among their countrymen at home. The Japanese gradually began to establish families in Taiwan, and to take up solitary living somewhat less frequently than at the beginning of their rule. In contrast, an extremely high proportion (29 per cent) of Chinese from the mainland by 1930 were still living alone in households of single persons, a result of the transient and impermanent status that they occupied in the island. It is interesting that in both of these minority groups, households of more than five persons, though not very numerous, had a distribution less unlike those of the Taiwanese. Apparently among the more settled and permanent non-Taiwanese in the population the ideals of the desirable family size were similar to those of the Taiwanese; but this attitude seems to have been more widely shared by Taiwanese, who as a group came closer to realizing it.

Composition of Taiwanese Households

592 It is not size in itself that distinguishes the Chinese family system from its counterparts in other countries. Nor does it mean a great deal to know about the size of family or household groups—even when we know their distribution from large to small—unless something can be discovered about their composition. Kinship would not be such a preoccupation in the minds of Chinese if it did not include other things that we have accustomed ourselves to regard as "non-familial." All that the factor of size indicates is the extent to which diverse familial roles can be encompassed within household units. In ascertaining these more diverse activities that were carried on in Taiwanese households, it will be helpful to find out some of the various kinds of members that were present.

The census schedules made inquiry into the family relationship of each household member, reckoned with reference to the head of the household. When the person was not a relative of the head, some further statement was still required—whether hired help, domestic servant, or simply a "lodger" in the house. The trouble is that the fortune. In contrast to the West, Chinese culture entertains no alternatives that offer serious competition to the "normal" family roles. 581

TABLE 59

PROPORTIONS OF TAIWANESE EVER-MARRIED, BY AGE AND SEX, 1905 TO 1935 162

Males and Females

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
10–14	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
15–19	10.2	5.7	6.3	5.3	7.3	5.7
20–24	45.7	40.1	42.8	44.7	51.6	49.8
25–29	77.4	72.9	76.5	78.2	82.9	83.1
30–34	89.4	88.1	88.6	89.7	91.3	91.9
35 and over	95.3	95.4	95.5	95.8	96.2	96.0
			Females			
10–14	2.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4
15–19	47.3	34.7	32.8	29.4	32.6	28.1
20–24	91.6	87.4	86.6	84.4	86.3	83.0
25–29	98.2	96.6	96.9	96.2	96.1	95.9
30–34	99.2	98.5	98.5	98.3	98.0	97.7
35 and over	99.7	99.5	99.4	99.3	99.3	99.0

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census. The "Informally Married," who in 1920 were shown as a subtotal of "Unmarried," have been reinstated here as "Married," in conformity with the census procedure at other dates.

There has been no indication from related spheres of activity 582 already discussed that these pressures to marry were anything but constant and unyielding during Japanese rule in Taiwan. The per- 162 centages of Taiwanese over age 30 who eventually married remained about the same—all but one or two per cent of women, and all but nine or ten per cent of men. Yet the proportions of Taiwanese who had ever been married did not remain constant at all ages. The younger people of both sexes displayed some signs of altering the time when their marriage took place (see Table 59).

So far as this evidence is germane, however, it offers conflicting testimony: the pressures would appear to have been weakened for women under age 30 and to have grown stronger for men. Faced with this apparent inconsistency, we naturally cannot vouch for the inner motives of people about to marry. Nor can we adopt the usual

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course in demography and merely say that there was a trend for people in Taiwan to "marry earlier" or "marry later," for this is to say nothing about why men and women apparently were of different minds in the matter. But thanks to the assiduity of the Japanese in maintaining Taiwan's population statistics, the problem is open to closer examination with the help of additional data.

TABLE 60
SEX BALANCE OF TAIWANESE IN MARRIAGEABLE AGES

Males per 100 Females Enumerated in Ages 15–49 in Successive Censuses, 1905 to 1940

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*	*1940*
10–14	122	113	109	107	105	103	104
15–19	126	116	112	109	106	104	100
20–24	123	121	115	112	108	106	102
25–29	122	123	120	114	111	108	104
30–34	119	119	120	118	114	110	107
35–39	116	114	114	118	116	112	109
40–44	112	107	108	110	114	114	110
45–49	100	100	99	101	105	109	108
Total, 15–49	119	115	112	111	109	107	104

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census.

It is worth while first to consider the conditions of the marriage market in Taiwan, in terms of the relative supply of men and women available to marry. Since, practically speaking, the Taiwanese were a "closed population," this is one instance where demographic trends in births and deaths may be observed very simply in their bearing on the more complex aspects of behavior. We have already seen that the chances of surviving through infancy and childhood had been extremely poor for girls born before 1895, and that this handicap disappeared only gradually in later years. As a result, by the time they were nearing age 20—the range when most of them married—there were not enough women to furnish wives for the eligible men.

In 1905, for example, there were more than 20 "surplus" males for every 100 females in the age group 15-19, who could not find wives from the same age group, and would have difficulty in finding them from any younger groups of girls which had suffered similar high mortality (see Table 60). Apparently, as girls began to catch

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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up with the boys in the chances of surviving in earlier life, they lost some of this advantage relative to men in marrying; and, as the scarcity of marriageable women became less of a factor conditioning the marriage opportunities for men and women, the result was that the chances of marrying at each age (under, say, 30) improved for men and declined for women.

TABLE 61
EXCESS OF MARRIED WOMEN IN TAIWAN, 1905-1935

	Married Men	*Married Women*	*Difference (2) – (1)*	*Males per 100 Females*
1905				
Taiwanese	594,827	598,556	3,729	99.4
Japanese	12,302	8,246	–4,056	149.2
Other	3,487	220	–3,267	1,585.0
Total	610,616	607,022	–3,594	100.6
1920				
Taiwanese	641,746	648,764	7,018	98.9
Japanese	37,377	32,946	–4,431	113.4
Other	7,427	2,270	–5,157	327.2
Total	686,550	683,980	–2,570	100.4
1935				
Taiwanese	913,655	924,963	11,308	98.8
Japanese	56,562	52,663	–3,899	107.4
Other	15,342	8,132	–7,210	188.7
Total	985,559	985,758	199	100.0

Sources: *Census of 1905, Detailed Tables,* Table 5; *Census of 1920, Descriptive Report with Appendix,* Appendix Table 26; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables,* Table 7. The category of "Married" as published in 1920 has been reconstituted so as to make it the same as that shown in the other censuses.

All this would be strictly true only if the Taiwanese population had been "closed" against marriage with other groups as completely as it was against migration. There were barriers to intermarriage, but in fact they were less effective. To some extent women enjoyed their felicitous marriage prospects because their nuptial horizons were not entirely restricted to Taiwanese men. Some of them married Mainland Chinese or even Japanese, which helped to enhance their scarcity. These mixed unions probably had a dubious legal status, for many of the male Japanese and Chinese nationals in Taiwan were little more than transients, and some who reported themselves as married may have done so because of a wife at home. It is unknown how many supplemental unions of this sort with Taiwanese women there were. They were not legally registered as marriages where Japanese were involved, for prior to 1932 such marriages were prohibited by law.

The legal status of a union, however, did not make so much difference in the census figures on married persons, since the census was designed to record unregistered as well as "legal" marriages. In this it seems to have been successful, even for those that were not fully legitimized by law, and the census reports are therefore a fairly good source to detect whether or not mixed unions existed.[2] A brief summary of this information is given in Table 61. With monogamous mating and without intermarriage, there should have been equal numbers of Taiwanese married men and married women at any one moment.[3] Actually, every census showed an excess of women over men who were married: a proportion in the neighborhood of one per cent of Taiwanese women were "unmatched" in this sense. But although some of these had undoubtedly become wives of Japanese or Chinese nationals, from the census materials there is no way of determining how widespread this intermarriage was. In the first place, Taiwanese men of wealth were said to take concubines, after the fashion of old-style Chinese gentry, and thereby may have accounted for some of the extra married women.[4] Also, from the Japanese (and Chinese) side, there is no way of knowing how many of these men were reported as married because of wives in Japan (or China), and how many because of wives among the Taiwanese.

Finally, a small though unknown number of Taiwanese men had found wives from women in the other nationality groups in the island, and these have the effect of cancelling some of the "excess" of married Taiwanese women.

These factors make the situation more complicated than it would

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[2] The first census (1905) was an exception. Liaisons with Japanese men and Taiwanese women were explicitly not recognized, though such unions involving Mainland Chinese were. In all other censuses the "informally married"—i.e., those whose marriages were not legally registered—were always shown separately, though sometimes included as a subtotal of "married" and sometimes as a subtotal of "single."

[3] Some Taiwanese men, by the time of the later censuses, were absent in Japan and elsewhere in the Empire, but they were too few to have any noticeable effect in these tabulations.

[4] By the same token, the sex imbalance of married Taiwanese cannot be said to be a measure of concubinage, because of the unknown amount of intermarriage. Neither of these two questions, both important, can be clarified beyond this indeterminate state of information.

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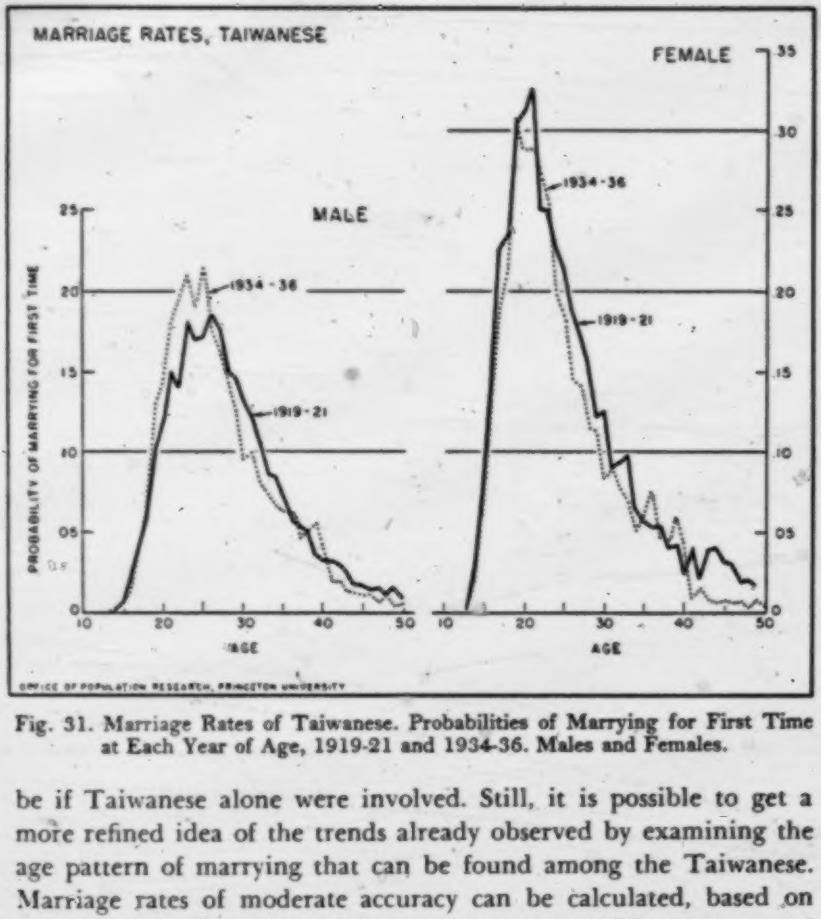

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Fig. 31. Marriage Rates of Taiwanese. Probabilities of Marrying for First Time at Each Year of Age, 1919-21 and 1934-36. Males and Females.

be if Taiwanese alone were involved. Still, it is possible to get a more refined idea of the trends already observed by examining the age pattern of marrying that can be found among the Taiwanese. Marriage rates of moderate accuracy can be calculated, based on registered marriages with adjustments for those which were not registered.[5] But because the data on marital status were not published

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[5] Marriage rates in this sense have been computed in the form of a "gross nuptiality table." In this form they are often termed "probabilities of marrying," which must first be computed as "probabilities of remaining single." They are exactly analogous to the "probabilities of dying" in a life table, in that they represent the proportion of persons entering each year of age who would have married during that age if none had died, according to the age pattern of the particular calendar year in question.

The rates given by such a table in its raw form are deficient; registered marriages in Taiwan were enough only to produce the number of "legally" married couples that were recorded in each census, but insufficient to have supplied all those whom the census found to be "actually" married (i.e., living together in socially recognized unions). This first set of marriage rates was therefore *adjusted* to bring it more nearly into accord with the facts as shown by the census. The adjustment was arrived at by calculating separately, from the census alone, a nuptiality table for "actually" married and

582 in full detail at each census, there are just two occasions for which satisfactory marriage rates can be found—1920 and 1935. Marriage
162 rates for these two dates are shown in Fig. 31, representing the marriages of three years averaged around the census year (i.e., 1919-21 and 1934-36).

The data of Fig. 31 pertain only to those being married for the first time, since the first marriage removes a person permanently from the unmarried. They show something less than the full extent of the changes in marriages that have already been demonstrated, for the shifting that appears in Fig. 31 is confined to half of the total period of observation. Already by 1920 women's extremely high chances of marrying before age 25 had begun to subside and those of men to rise. Even so, the persistence of this change is clearly evident in the latter half of the period. Marriage rates continued to move in opposite directions for men and for women after 1920 (though after 1920 it is less apparent for women). Taiwanese customs of marriage still allotted the better opportunities to women when young, concentrating these near age 20, while the high point in men's chances came three or four years later in life. Regardless of their differences in earlier adulthood (when most of the first marriages actually occurred), between 1920 and 1935 neither men nor women showed any tendency to defer marrying until after age 25—the rates of both sexes declined after age 30 and in the later 20's.

Widowhood and Divorce

162 Not everyone who marries stays married. In societies where mortality is relatively severe, large proportions of spouses are likely to
589 be separated from their partners through death. Since the mortality of Taiwanese was higher for men than for women, wives were more likely to be bereaved than husbands, and there were more widows than widowers. While every census found substantial portions of people of both sexes who had once been married but whose husbands

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"legally" married persons; the ratio of the one to the other was used for "correcting" the rates based on registered (legal) marriages. This procedure leaves something to be desired; the most that can be said in its favor is that it converts into useful form data that would otherwise be useless.

The procedures of estimating nuptiality from census data were an adaptation of those discussed in Mortara, G. (1949). These figures might be suitable to use in place of the data that actually appear in the text, but for the fact that they reflect unduly the events of the census year, and thus give a poor indication of trend. The age pattern of unregistered marriages has no significance as such, for there was nothing to prevent unregistered marriages from being subsequently registered.

or wives had died, the proportions at nearly every age were two to three times as great for women as for men (see Table 62). 162 589

TABLE 62
WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS IN TAIWAN

Per Cent of Taiwanese Men and Women Who Were Counted as Widows or Widowers in Each Census, 1905 to 1935, by Age

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
20–24	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.4
25–29	2.5	2.1	2.4	1.4	1.2	1.1
30–34	4.3	4.1	4.2	2.9	2.3	1.9
35–39	6.8	6.1	6.6	4.9	4.0	3.4
40–44	10.1	8.8	9.2	7.7	6.5	5.7
45–49	14.0	12.1	12.4	10.7	10.1	8.9
50 and over	28.6	26.3	29.3	23.1	22.2	21.3
			Females			
20–24	2.1	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.0	1.0
25–29	4.8	3.7	4.0	2.7	2.3	2.2
30–34	9.4	6.9	7.4	5.3	4.7	4.4
35–39	17.6	13.2	13.2	10.2	9.3	8.2
40–44	30.2	23.7	22.5	18.7	16.5	15.0
45–49	43.4	37.9	35.2	29.9	27.2	24.1
50 and over	72.2	71.2	69.2	65.1	61.6	57.9

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census.

By 1935, the proportions of adult women who were widows had gradually fallen at all ages, until they were no more than half as high as they had been in 1905. The decrease in proportions of widowed men was similar, though less pronounced. Most of this decline probably arose from the fact that spouses of both sexes became less likely to die during early adulthood, thanks to improved mortality. Not all, however, can be definitely attributed to an actual decrease in widowhood, for the census recorded as widowed only those who remained in the status of widows.

Just as death of a husband or wife is a way to end a marriage, remarriage is a way out of widowhood. In the case of women it is one 587
that is not highly regarded by Chinese tradition. A wife leaves her original family and enters that of her husband, where her status at

587 first is uncertain and tends to be the target of considerable hostility.[6] But if she bears a child, especially a son, during the husband's lifetime, her membership in his family is made relatively secure, for she becomes the means for continuation of the family line. If the family has enough wealth and enough adult family members to prevail in the matter, it is to be preferred that the wife remain a widow rather than remarry. The attitudes generated by the family system, which manage to induce nearly everyone to marry once, act to some extent as a restraint on the number of years that may be spent in married life. Depending on the circumstances, widowhood therefore may be permanent and have the effect of preventing many women from being mothers of additional children.

But the prohibition against remarrying is often given lax observance. In Taiwan special arrangements were sometimes made to ease the practical difficulties.[7] Many women must have lost their husbands before providing a male heir, and a childless widow might have very little claim to standing in her husband's family. Because the remarriage of widows was not looked upon with favor, they were not likely to enjoy the prospects of so good a match as those of unmarried women. It is commonly known that a cheap wedding can be arranged with widows, and so they probably became wives of poorer men. With the shortage of marriageable women that existed in early Taiwan, the abundance of widows doubtless was a factor in finding wives for many men who otherwise might not have married at all.

Remarriage is not regarded so austerely for widowed men; the same circumstances affect them, but all work in the other direction. A man has compelling reasons to remarry after the death of his wife, and these are even stronger if he has become the head of a household and the father of children. A widower's incentive was equal to that of a widow, and he had fewer obstacles.

586 Like widowhood, *divorce* also removes some men and women from married life and helps to reduce still further the efficiency of mar-

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[6] See Levy, M. J., Jr. (1949), Chapters III and IV.

[7] Since the Chinese conception of marriage and descent is patrilineal, the "normal" course for a widow who remarries would be to enter the family of the second husband. The presence of children born to her as a wife, however, complicates the situation, for they are regarded as descendants in the male line—i.e., members of the first husband's family—and would not ordinarily be relinquished. Among poorer Taiwanese there existed a special form of marriage in situations of this sort, observed also in many parts of China, which provides that the second husband marries *into* the family of the widow's children. Marriage of this kind is deprecated and probably occurs chiefly when a widow is left without able-bodied members of her husband's family.

riage in cementing marital unions. Divorces are different, however, in that most of them occur early, rather than increasing with the length of married life. They leave (at least initially) an equal number of ex-partners of either sex who can remarry if the institutional system permits. They also leave a lesser total residue of persons in a non-married status. The divorced enumerated in the censuses were very small proportions of Taiwanese adults, and showed no trend with the passage of time save reduction to still smaller sizes at the younger ages (see Table 63).

TABLE 63

DIVORCED MEN AND WOMEN IN TAIWAN

Per Cent of Taiwanese Who Were Counted as Divorced from a Previous Marriage, 1905 to 1935, by Age

Age	*1905*	*1915*	*1920*	*1925*	*1930*	*1935*
			Males			
15–19	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
20–24	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
25–29	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.3
30–34	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.0	1.8	1.6
35–39	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.7
40 and over	1.3	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
			Females			
15–19	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2
20–24	1.2	0.9	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.7
25–29	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0	0.9
30–34	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.0
35–39	0.7	0.8	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9
40 and over	0.4	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the reports of each census.

A paucity of divorced people has led observers from time to time to conclude that divorce itself is all but unknown among Chinese. On similar grounds, the abundance of widows is often taken as a rough measurement of how great are the proportions of people who have been widowed. The reasoning behind both types of inference is that the chances of remarriage are poor (especially for women), and therefore the number of observed survivors of divorce and widowhood are a gauge of their frequency.

586 But neither divorce nor widowhood has been seriously investigated in an agrarian society. Though one must admit that reliable data have been rare, scholars have usually fallen back on stereotypes drawn from the folklore and value statements of the societies themselves. This approach has its pitfalls, especially when these statements are accepted literally without much attention to the social situations in which they have their effect.

Divorce, we are told, happens at the whim of the husband or his family; a wife may be sent back to her original home if her behavior fails to satisfy them on any of several grounds, all very explicitly stated. The divorced woman must return disgraced to her family, nevermore to be sought in marriage. The harshness of this procedure is tempered, mercifully, by prospective loss of the dowry to the husband's family, by recognized conditions that call forth forbearance on their part, and by "local sentiment" which may be offended by the arbitrariness of the whole affair.

In short, the prescriptions of archaic Chinese moral codes leave one with just about as much insight as to what to expect as if he knew nothing of them. In reality not a great deal can be said about the reasons for divorce with the assurance that it is generally accurate. It differs from widowhood in being the outcome of decision rather than death, decision affecting the two families between which the original marriage had been arranged. If a dispute is involved, which is likely, the focal point will probably be the relations of the wife with her husband's family, but only if the marriage was patrilocal. The grounds may be anything rising from these relations, which are known to be difficult. Grievances may exist on either side, though it is easy to see that they originate more readily from that of the husband's family.

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162 Luckily there is a way of checking on the frequency of divorce in Taiwan, as there is not in the case of widowhood. Its legal significance was judged by Japanese to be sufficient to warrant keeping records of divorce as it occurred. Divorces were registered each year, according to the time elapsed since marriage (in single years of duration up to five, and thence in broader intervals). These data have been slightly rearranged, assuming (with some error) that all of those which occurred less than one year after marriage belonged to marriages made in the same calendar year, that those occurring between the first and the second year of the marriages' duration belonged to

marriages of the previous year, and so on. It is then possible to calculate approximately the number of marriages of any particular year that ended in divorce within five years[8] (see Table 64).

TABLE 64

MARRIAGES ENDED IN DIVORCE, 1906-1940

Per Cent of Registered Marriages of Each Year That Were Dissolved by Divorce within 5 Years' Duration
Taiwanese Only

Year	*A. Assuming That All Taiwanese Marriages Could End in Divorce*	*B. Assuming That Divorce Occurred Only to First Marriages*
1906	14.4	22.3
1910	9.4	13.8
1915	10.5	14.0
1920	7.9	10.6
1925	7.7	9.4
1930	5.8	6.8
1935	4.7	5.2
1939	3.6	3.9

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 77.

It makes some difference whether we include those persons who were marrying for the second (or subsequent) time or whether we assume that only first-married couples were divorced. Since the truth probably lies somewhere between these alternatives, Table 64 has a column of figures for each, based of course on the same number of divorces in both cases. Close to 10 per cent of Taiwanese marriages before 1920, nearly 15 per cent if first marriages alone are considered, were regularly being dissolved within five years. The outcome of marriages in 1906 may suggest that divorce had an even higher

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[8] For example, it is assumed that first-year divorces in 1910 belonged to marriages of 1910, and that divorces in the second year of marriages to these people all took place in 1911, in the third year 1912, etc. This procedure makes no allowance for those marriages that might have been broken by death, but it will be seen that this omission merely makes the evidence of trend more conservative, and does not exaggerate it.

In most years, between 60 and 70 per cent of registered divorces happened within the first five years of married life. Table 64 must be confined to this period for each annual crop of marriages, because the published data show only the first five years' divorces by single year of duration. The result is that the "divorce rates" of Table 64 represent only two-thirds to three-quarters of the divorces that eventually occurred. This fraction fell slightly during the period of registration, leading to some exaggeration of the decline in divorce shown in Table 64.

586 162 incidence before the registration system was established, but also may have been nothing more than a peculiarity of the early operation of the registration system itself. Whatever its initial level, the divorce rate fell steadily throughout the Japanese occupation. Somewhat under four per cent of marriages registered in 1939 failed to last for five years.

The Prevalence of Remarriage

587 162 It is beyond the capacity of these resources to reveal the percentages of any year's marriages that ever ended in divorce. Our disregard of divorces if they occurred more than five years after marriage and the omission of many marriages from registration make it not worth while to strive for more than this approximation. More pressing is the question of what happened to all the people whose marriages suffered this adverse outcome. Even at its lowest stage in Taiwan, divorce was still not uncommon, and produced far more divorced people than the census enumerations were able to detect. Yet experience with these census materials has justified a high respect for their accuracy; there is no reason to doubt that they are the most dependable of all public records in Taiwan. It follows, then, that a large share of those who had been divorced, amounting to most of all those divorced before age 25 or 30, must have remarried. Moreover, they must have remarried without delay, for as a group they spent too little time out of wedlock for more than a small fraction to be counted as divorced in any census.

By way of illustrating the grounds for these conclusions, Table 65 shows the numbers of Taiwanese recorded as divorced in the census of 1920. In adjacent columns are the numbers of remarriages that were registered to divorced persons during that year. In the second portion of Table 65 the same information is given for widows and widowers. Unfortunately the case cannot be made more rigorously. Since there is no way of knowing how many people of each age became divorced or widowed during the year, the total time spent in either status cannot be estimated, and we cannot construct "remarriage rates" by the same procedures applied to people marrying for the first time. In Table 65 it is nonetheless evident that the turnover in divorced and widowed spouses was remarkably high.[a] Remarriages

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[a] The turnover may well have been higher than that suggested by Table 65: some remarriages were probably not registered, and some may have been registered incorrectly as first marriages.

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TABLE 65
REMARRIAGES OF WIDOWED AND DIVORCED PERSONS, 1920
(Taiwanese Only)

	Males		*Females*	
Age	*Divorced Men Counted on October 1*	*Remarriages Registered During 1920*	*Divorced Women Counted on October 1*	*Remarriages Registered During 1920*
A. Divorced*				
10–14	3	1	20	16
15–19	155	66	622	586
20–24	1,303	506	1,389	1,193
25–29	2,362	825	1,185	738
30–34	2,771	727	999	412
35–39	2,756	434	929	236
40–44	2,081	211	786	115
45–49	1,377	100	711	45
50 and over	1,943	53	1,097	20
Total, All Ages	14,751	2,923	7,738	3,361

	Males		*Females*	
Age	*Widowers Counted on October 1*	*Remarriages Registered During 1920*	*Widows Counted on October 1*	*Remarriages Registered During 1920*
B. Widowed*				
10–14	17	1	22	8
15–19	154	48	607	412
20–24	1,278	445	2,504	1,269
25–29	3,191	923	4,224	1,560
30–34	5,058	1,254	7,263	1,455
35–39	7,743	1,364	13,457	1,081
40–44	8,548	930	20,061	624
45–49	9,214	595	27,215	284
50 and over	35,819	503	137,752	133
Total, All Ages	71,022	6,063	213,105	6,826

* The categories of "Widowed" and "Divorced" in this table are restricted to the persons whose original marriages had been registered. Those widowed or divorced men and women whose marriages were not registered have been excluded, for if they remarried they would probably register the event as their first marriage. Accordingly, the numbers in this table are slightly lower than those shown in most census tables for 1920.

Sources: *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables, Total Island*, Table 2; *Vital Statistics of the Population, 1920*, Table 12.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

587 at some ages were almost as numerous as those who were found to be eligible at the census date.

.162 In 1920, divorced women were favored over men in remarriage, but widows apparently were not. One cannot help noticing that more widows were remarrying in 1920 than widowers—6,826 as against 6,063, taking all ages together. This could happen only because there were many more of them to seek remarriage. The actual likelihood of marrying again was almost certainly poorer for widows than for widowed men, partly for the reasons already mentioned. While the experience of divorced persons was superficially about the same—3,361 remarriages of women, compared with 2,923 of men—the real situation was almost reversed. Since divorce withdraws an equal number of men and of women from marriage, any later sex disparity among the divorced (aside from some loss of men through heavier mortality) must be the result of unequal chances of remarrying. It turns out, therefore, that divorced women enjoyed better chances than divorced men to marry again. Even during the earlier years when divorce was exceptionally widespread in Taiwan, it probably interfered less with future childbearing among the women affected than did widowhood among widows.[10]

Though these facts do not advance us very far toward explaining the reasons for the wide incidence of divorce in Taiwan and its fall, it helps to know that entering divorce (or widowhood) was not an irrevocable step, provided that the people involved were young enough.[11] Some of the advantage that divorced women maintained over widows was simply that they were younger (though it was more than this, since they also remarried more readily at the same ages). But in order to get a more complete answer one must look for the consequences of the high divorce rates among those who were marrying. For this answer it is necessary to put one additional question: Whom did people find to marry in their second attempt?

Under conditions in Taiwan after 1895, and probably also under those that were current before, a remarkably small proportion of all marriages were introducing people into matrimony for the first time. Only 717 of every thousand marriages in 1906 had this effect for men, still fewer—644—for women. A mere 585, less than 60 per cent,

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[10] Of course, divorced women were younger, and this made remarriage more likely. But men and women at the same ages also showed the same disparity.

[11] This is, of course, only another way of saying that part of the handicaps often associated with divorce and widowhood arise because many people in these categories are older than the ages at which it is customary to marry.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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TABLE 66

THE SHIFT TOWARD FIRST MARRIAGES IN TAIWAN

Persons Marrying for the First Time, Per 1,000 Total Marriages between Taiwanese, 1906-1943

Year	*Husbands*	*Wives*	*Both Husband and Wife Marrying for First Time*
1906	717	644	585
1910	754	685	629
1915	791	746	691
1920	776	746	684
1925	835	825	766
1930	858	854	797
1935	887	893	836
1940	896	907	851
1943	901	921	864

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 70.

united *both* partners for the first time. The remainder went toward restoring to married life the widowed and divorced, who were very numerous. Because so many people dropped out, marriage had become surprisingly inefficient as a way of perpetuating family lines, and a large-scale duplication of effort was regularly incurred by those who tried again.

As time went on, however, we have seen that the shortage of women of marriageable age began to disappear, death separated husbands and wives less frequently, and divorce gradually declined in its incidence. By 1940, marriages had become more lasting and less recidivous for both men and women. The margin by which the proportion of women marrying for the first time lagged behind that of men almost vanished, and as high as 85 per cent of all registered matches were first marriages for both husband and wife.

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There were further implications of this shift away from remarriage. Other things being equal (such as the prestige or importance of the particular family connection), a match in which the opposite partner was being married for the first time would be preferred, by the family of either the bride or the groom, over one in which the partner had been divorced or widowed from a previous marriage. The Chinese do not impose on relatives of the deceased the obligation (which is binding in some societies) of marrying a widowed husband or wife; far less do they have any preference for divorced

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

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TABLE 67

RELATIVE RESTRICTION OF CHOICE IN MATES BY MEN AND WOMEN MARRYING FOR THE FIRST TIME

Per Cent of First Marriages in Each Year That Occurred with Divorced or Widowed Partners of the Opposite Sex. Taiwanese Only

Year	*Unmarried Men. Per Cent Marrying Divorced Wives or Widows*	*Unmarried Women. Per Cent Marrying Divorced Husbands or Widowers*
1906	18	9
1910	16	8
1915	13	7
1920	12	8
1925	8	7
1930	7	7
1935	6	6
1940	5	6
1943	4	6

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 70.

persons as candidates for marriage. When people marrying for the first time must take this less desirable latter alternative, it amounts to a restriction in marital choice, through circumstances of poverty or low prestige. We have already found that in their matrimonial position men in some ways were situated unfavorably, owing to the scarcity of eligible women. It is a reflection of this handicap that in the earlier years of registration a much larger proportion of Taiwanese men than women in their first marriage had to accept divorced wives or widows. In this matter of latitude of choice, the subsequent trends in marriage patterns can be summed up as a process of reducing the amount of restriction and equalizing this difference (see Table 67).

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The prospects of widowed or divorced people in remarriage are of course the opposite sides of the same picture, since by Chinese cultural standards their position is expected to be unfavorable. Other things being equal, *their* most advantageous matches are with people previously unmarried. The situation being defined in this way, their chances are closely related to the trends in first marriages—so long as unmarried partners cannot be found for some persons marrying for the first time, these chances might be fairly high.

But it is also true that widowed and divorced people of both sexes declined as a portion of the population. For this reason, their chances on remarriage of finding partners not previously married were steadily improved, in spite of the fact that the first-married became less dependent on the widowed and divorced for their supply of spouses (see Table 68). Let it be said, however, that these chances were never very poor. The scarcity of women helped to place widows and divorced women in a position that was surprisingly good, especially in view of the contrary impression given by the accepted notions about their low repute in China.

TABLE 68

RELATIVE ADVANTAGE OF MEN AND OF WOMEN IN REMARRIAGE

Per Cent of Registered Remarriages by Widowed and Divorced Persons with Previously Unmarried Partners of the Opposite Sex
Taiwanese Only

	WIDOWED		*DIVORCED*	
Year	*Husbands. Per Cent Marrying Unmarried Women*	*Wives. Per Cent Marrying Unmarried Men*	*Husbands. Per Cent Marrying Unmarried Women*	*Wives. Per Cent Marrying Unmarried Men*
1906	15	30	32	49
1910	17	33	37	53
1915	20	35	39	48
1920	23	31	39	47
1925	29	34	48	48
1930	30	33	54	51
1935	44	40	60	55
1940	48	42	63	54
1943	52	43	68	52

Source: *Statistical Summary*, Table 70.

Men made much larger gains than women, and here they not only equalled but eventually surpassed women in the degree to which they succeeded in getting such terms on remarriage. Judged by this standard, divorced people of either sex were better off than the widowed. This was partly because they were younger and in that respect more marriageable; but in any case if their prospects were so bright, it is impossible to assert that a Chinese taboo against remarriage of divorced people is very strong.

So it is evident that the explanation for these trends in divorce rests upon answers to questions about other trends and patterns of marriage, and that these more significant answers are incomplete

587 162 without some explanation of the peculiar role of divorce in early Taiwan. But there is a common thread running through both of these problems. The negotiation of marriages has been profoundly influenced by the supply of eligible women in relation to that of men—the marriage market formerly was one in which women of marriageable age were scarce. This situation conferred several advantages on the families containing eligible girls, as against those with young men seeking marriage: (1) an excellent chance to avoid permanent spinsterhood by eventually marrying, (2) a better chance to find a partner not previously married, (3) a better chance for them to remarry, if a widow or divorced, and (4) more favorable terms on remarriage.

586 162 The premium formerly enjoyed by marriageable women supplies the best clue not only to the favorable matches open to families with adult daughters, but also to the reasons why they might afford to suffer the supposed indignity of a divorce. It has been pointed out above that Chinese tradition views divorce one-sidedly—it is something to be initiated by the husband's family, since the wedding makes the wife a member of their household, and the household is where the well-known strains attending her presence arise. But the trends in divorce cannot be explained on this basis. It would imply that husbands, or their families, provoked a profusion of divorces when their own chances of remarriage were at low ebb, and that they became less desirous of divorce as these chances improved.

The wife's parental family does not actually suspend its attachments or obligations to her upon marriage, though commentaries on the Chinese family system commonly give this impression. Her relatives are ordinarily a party to the marriage itself, and may be very alert to the connection which it establishes between the two families. They can often choose whether to let a dispute develop into a break in this connection; sometimes they ensure this turn of events by upholding her interests, or by quarreling over unfulfilled terms of the marriage agreement, whereas they would show more restraint if her chance for remarriage were not good.

586 162 591 Nor is the position of the wife herself always so helpless as it is depicted. Over one-fifth of the earlier registered marriages between Taiwanese were not of the "ordinary" type at all, but were matrilocal. Though they did not all have the same standing in custom,[12]

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[12] They include three recognized forms: adoption of a future son-in-law by a girl's parents, who may then be in charge of him from childhood on; simply marrying-in by the husband; and marrying-in with apparently some restriction to his rights of inheritance. The exact distinctions are left somewhat unclear, for the terms are Japanese, and the facts Chinese. It is also likely that there were variations in procedure from one place to another.

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TABLE 69

PER CENT OF ALL REGISTERED MARRIAGES BETWEEN TAIWANESE THAT WERE MATRILOCAL, 1906-43

1906	21.8
1910	20.4
1915	18.4
1920	17.5
1925	16.1
1930	15.7
1935	9.8
1940	7.8
1943	6.2

Source: *Statistical Summary,* Table 65.

these marriages had in common the fact that the husbands entered the families of the wives, in the reverse of the pattern that was considered normal. These extraordinary marriages were a measure of necessity rather than a repudiation of tradition, for they diminished as a share of all marriages along with the major difficulties of men in finding brides. But matrilocal marriage signifies a considerable compromise with the dominance allotted to men by Chinese tradition. Where it occurs, it means that in order to maintain the rule of male descent, either the husband must be relegated to a less important position or the continuity of the wife's family must be broken. Chinese may on different occasions prefer one or the other of these alternatives, but when they resort to matrilocal marriage it is a sign that precedence has been given to continuation of the wife's family line. This solution makes the husband's status in the wife's family rest on sufferance, and cannot avoid undermining his dignity and authority.[13] The norms of patriarchal authority were not undermined, however, in the Taiwanese population as a whole: when men were no longer obliged to marry on these degrading terms, they began to shun this type of marriage (see Table 69). Because it was inconsistent with the rest of the family system, matrilocal marriage presented a special occasion for discord—men were led to expect one kind of familial role as husbands, but required to accept another one that was inferior.

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[13] Further compromise is actually possible. Various devices are practiced in China, such as entering the husband on the registers of the wife's family, changing his surname to theirs, and perhaps admitting him to her inheritance, as ways to smooth over the departure from tradition in such marriages. How urgent these niceties are probably depends on the importance and wealth of the families involved—i.e., how urgently they feel the need to keep up conventional appearances.

586 591 Evidently it is mistaken to consider divorce simply as a prerogative of the husband or his family, just because the Chinese believe that it ought to be. Several sources of friction can be found in Chinese family structure that might lead to divorce, but by their manifestations in Taiwan they point to the wife's side, and not the husband's, as having been responsible for its exceptionally high incidence. A great many of the divorces that were recorded must have been precipitated by the wife's family (if not by the wife herself), and it seems inescapable that their willingness to do so was governed largely by the opportunities to find another match for her. The patterns of marriage as well as divorce lend support to this conclusion.

The Reproductive Span of Married Life

• 162 582 One reason for giving attention to marriage is that it is the principal step by which people pass into adult familial roles, and thus embodies many of their ideas about the significance of these roles. It is also a matter of great interest in connection with reproductive behavior, since in all known societies some form of marriage establishes the approved social setting for bringing children into the world. From the standpoint of replacement of members in a population, however, the important thing is not simply when people first become married, but how much time they actually spend in married life. But because a particular marriage almost never lasts through the lifetime of both its immediate partners, the duration of married life cannot be precisely determined for Taiwanese. People are arriving and departing continually, and not all of them leave a sufficient trace in the sorts of demographic statistics that are usually available.

The most practical expedient for estimating the amount of time spent in marriage is to consider only those women of reproductive ages who are currently married at some particular time.[14] In Table 70 they are arranged as proportions of all women at these ages at census dates, confirming what has already been implied above—that many years were spent without their husbands by women who had been married, because widowhood and divorce were too prevalent to be cancelled out by remarriage. As women became older more of them became widows, but the percentages of women who dropped

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[14] From the standpoint of demographic concepts, there is nothing inherently "better" about narrowing attention to women instead of men. The main reason for doing so here is that we have ways of estimating the fertility of women in Taiwan according to age, but not that of men. The choice of 15-49 as the age interval to use is dictated by convention, but in other populations it has been found to include nearly all cases of maternity.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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TABLE 70

PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN CURRENTLY MARRIED, BY AGE, AT VARIOUS CENSUS DATES

Age	*1905*	*1920*	*1935*
15–19	45.9	32.0	27.7
20–24	88.3	83.5	81.2
25–29	92.5	91.6	92.8
30–34	89.0	89.8	92.4
35–39	81.2	84.7	89.3
40–44	68.8	75.8	82.8
45–49	55.9	63.2	74.2
Total, 15–49	75.7	72.2	74.1

Source: Tables of the Taiwanese population by age, sex and marital status in the respective censuses. "Married" in 1920 includes women whose marriages were not registered.

out of married life in this way declined sharply with the fall in mortality among husbands and in the frequency of divorce. Hence some of the time lost to young wives through later marriage was made up by others through prolonged survival of their husbands. One cannot say with certainty that the *net* result was a lengthening of married life for the women of Table 70.[15] But even if it had been, this lengthening might not make much of a contribution to the fertility of women in reproductive ages. It had most of its effect over age 35, when many women had already completed their childbearing.

When it comes to patterns of difference in marriage between groups of Taiwanese, there is not much to find. Little information exists to indicate the marrying habits of the people according to their occupations; and for the meager material that is available, the study of Taiwan's occupational data has shown that these can be relied upon only for men, whereas it is the women that interest us here.[16] A comparison can be made, in 1920, between the principal groups of Taiwanese according to place of origin. Those married among Chinese who traced their ancestry from Fukien, and those from Kwangtung, are listed separately in Table 71. Both had almost equal proportions of all their women 15-49 married in 1920. The group from Fukien, which comprised most of the population in Taiwan, apparently married somewhat earlier, but were more widowed in the higher reproductive ages. The women from families of Kwangtung origin, most of whom are descendants from the "Hakka" group in Taiwan, were married to a lesser extent while young, but were able to avoid widowhood until later in life.

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[15] There is no simple answer to the question of whether the time spent in marriage increased or not. Other things equal, the fact that women lived longer would result automatically in a lengthening of married life—fewer wives at these ages would die before their husbands. Similarly with longer life for husbands (and less divorce)—women would spend a greater *proportion* of their time married.

The case becomes complicated [illegible] soon as new generations of women entering the reproductive ages are included. [illegible] new groups of women were becoming larger every year, making the extra time that they spent awaiting marriage still greater, and offsetting some of the increase of the married among older women.

The balance of these effects at census dates is shown by the proportions of women married in the entire age group 15-49, which fell after 1905 and partially recovered later. But these do not give the only answer to the question, for there is no doubt that those women *already* married would stay married longer than women had before, owing largely to the reduction of mortality in the population. It makes a difference whether the question about years spent in marriage is put in terms of a particular group (or "cohort") of women at different times or different groups of women at some particular time. Although the first of these alternatives is really more pertinent to the other problems of interest, even an approximate answer makes extravagant demands for data, and the second form is the one in which related questions (such as local differences, in this chapter, and of fertility, in the next) must be phrased.

TABLE 71

PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN MARRIED, 1920, BY AGE AND ANCESTRAL PLACE OF ORIGIN

Age	*Fukien Origin*	*Kwangtung Origin*	*Other Taiwanese**
15–19	31.9	31.1	37.3
20–24	84.2	81.1	76.2
25–29	92.0	91.3	83.6
30–34	89.9	90.8	84.1
35–39	84.5	86.5	82.6
40–44	75.0	80.0	75.7
45–49	61.8	70.4	66.9
Total, 15–49	72.1	72.9	70.8

* "Other Taiwanese" consisted almost entirely of non-Chinese members of aboriginal tribes in Taiwan.

Source: *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 2.

"Married" includes women whose marriages were not registered.

It is not possible to find out definitely whether Kwangtung widows were more likely to remarry, or whether they simply had hardier husbands and became widows less often. Their smaller quota of widows can be partly explained away, however, by two facts: their

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[16] The later census reports did not show this information at all. In 1920 a long and complicated table was devoted to cross-tabulation of occupation and marital status by age, and similarly for the census of 1905. But for the reason noted in the text they are not of much value in answering the questions raised here. Figures for registered marriages were published according to the occupation of each spouse, but for these and additional reasons these tables are practically useless.

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whole age pattern in marrying was a later one (and therefore probably made their husbands younger in relation to themselves); and most of them lived in Hsinchu Prefecture, which gave them and their husbands better chances of surviving. In view of these considerations, it seems that greater remarriage of widows probably was not very important in producing this difference.

The entry for "Other Taiwanese" in Table 71 gives some indication of the prevalence of marriage in those small groups of the island's aborigines who lived in the foothills and plains. Their women were distinguished from the Chinese by earlier marriage, and poorer chances both of marrying for the first time and of remarrying when widowed or divorced. They were a small group, however, and information about them probably tells nothing about the inhabitants of the interior, who were not enumerated in the census of 1920.

TABLE 72
PER CENT OF TAIWANESE WOMEN MARRIED
By Age, Inside and Outside Major Cities*
1925 and 1935

	1925		*1935*	
Age	*Inside Cities*	*Outside Cities*	*Inside Cities*	*Outside Cities*
15–19	24.4	29.4	23.9	28.3
20–24	73.3	83.5	73.8	82.4
25–29	85.9	93.5	87.3	93.7
30–34	87.2	92.7	87.6	93.1
35–39	83.4	88.3	84.6	90.1
40–44	74.8	80.1	78.6	83.5
45–49	63.0	68.9	69.1	75.0
Total, 15–49	67.0	73.0	69.4	74.9

* "Inside Cities" includes the nine cities of Municipal rank in 1935. The data for 1925 have been rearranged to conform to this rule.
Source: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 3; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7.

Local conditions peculiar to different parts of Taiwan also produced a certain amount of variation in the extent of marriage by women. A clear-cut distinction of this sort is that which appears between the people in the major cities and those in the surrounding rural regions. When all the cities that were of Municipal rank in 1935 are grouped together, and then the remainder of the population collected in another group, the women in cities are found to have lagged behind the others by a considerable margin in getting

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married. The gap in proportions married was greatest for the young women in the age interval 20-24, narrowing with advancing age (see Table 72). The gap was similar and located at the same ages both in 1925 and 1935, suggesting that the cities probably shared with the rest of the island in the trend toward later marriage for women.

TABLE 73

VARIATION IN PROPORTIONS MARRIED

Per Cent of Women in the Ages 20–34 Currently Married
By Prefecture, Inside and Outside Major Cities, 1925 and 1935
Taiwanese Only

Name of Prefecture	*1925* *Inside Cities*	*1925* *Outside Cities*	*1935* *Inside Cities*	*1935* *Outside Cities*	*Name of City*
Taipei		88.4		88.3	
	76.2		76.1		(Taipei)
	79.0		84.0		(Chilung)
Hsinchu		87.3		87.2	
	84.7		84.0		(Hsinchu)
Taichung		90.2		89.8	
	86.8		86.1		(Taichung)
	85.5		87.1		(Changhua)
Tainan		92.2		92.1	
	80.2		78.6		(Tainan)
	86.1		87.5		(Chiayi)
Kaohsiung		87.6		85.8	
	87.9		87.1		(Kaohsiung)
	87.1		85.7		(P'ingtung)
Taitung		80.4		83.7	
Hualien		84.0		87.8	
P'enghu Islands		84.6		84.7	
Total Island	81.6	89.3	82.2	89.0	

Source: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 3; *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 7.

One cannot deny that there were better incentives or opportunities outside than inside the major cities for women to marry while very young. The extent of marriage among women in these cities is one of the principal features that set them off from the rural sections. But the sharpness of the difference is misleading, and gives an impression of contrast between country and city that is unwarranted. The notion of "urban" as distinct from agrarian conditions

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does not accurately characterize cities that are so little urbanized as those in Taiwan. Some of the difference in Table 72 comes, not from their distinctness as cities, but from the characteristics of people in their surrounding areas. It turns out that cities were less unlike the rural sections of the island when they are compared with those parts from which they drew many of their people (see Table 73). One city actually had a *higher* proportion of its women 20-34 married than the rest of the Prefecture in which it was located.

The case is similar when variation in the individual rural Districts that make up the remainder of the Prefectures (outside of the major cities) is taken into account. Most of it falls in the ages 15-19, which are not shown in Table 73. Even in the ages dealt with here these smaller civil divisions exhibited considerable differences in their marriage customs, which make it impossible to discern patterns of any consequence in the proportions married, as far as cities are concerned, that might denote change. Those places where women had a relatively late start in marrying were sometimes among the *highest* in proportions married by age 30; some of the early-marrying ones were among the lowest in those still married of their older women. But insofar as these local peculiarities represent differences in the way that marriage was regarded by the people, one common factor stands out in all of them—the variation seems to have been in scheduling *when* the women should marry, and not in fixing the proportion who eventually were found to be married.[17] The percentages of women married over age 30 were similar in all smaller civil divisions, both Municipalities and rural Districts. And so the principal result of their diversity may have been to make localities gain or lose in the time that their younger women spent in married life.[18]

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[17] The local peculiarities seem also to have been firmly rooted in custom and not patterns of accidental variation, for they were fairly stable through time. The differences in proportions married repeated themselves: they were correlated with nothing else more strongly than with the same proportions at a later date, even though the women involved of course were different each time. Some idea of this stability can be gained by comparing 1925 and 1935 in Table 73, though the case is more impressive when all rural Districts are compared separately. Although it might be expected that young women with lower incidence of marriage would also have lower fertility, there is no indication that this was so in Taiwan to any marked degree, as we shall see in the next chapter. Part of the explanation is doubtless that the differences followed this pattern of local custom more than one of change.

[18] Local variations cannot be said to be linked to the same factors that were discussed above for the entire island. For example, families of young men seeking marriage might, if confronted by a local shortage of young women, arrange a match in a neighboring place. Moreover, the shortage itself might not be one revealed in the statistics but merely one of families having eligible *surnames* (or sufficiently distant relationships). Chinese regard marriage between persons of the same family name as incestuous, and the residents of small communities often are nearly all of the same

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

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THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

174 The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village. T F

174 167 The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[3] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

F 175 504 167 Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

F 175 167 167 504 442 443 In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

F T 369 464 In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its 175
importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan 648
did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center.
The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and 504
goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's 167
trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern 439
Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a
port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the
harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a
result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon
became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance 175
was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from 648
Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market 496
town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline
as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area 162
was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred
thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in
1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite [161]
the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished
in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for 464
its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are 369
employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way 443
city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and 442
a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a 778
religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants 776
brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These 167
gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important
deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the 175
people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on
the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important
focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty
to the Goddess Matsu.

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The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing 124
dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents 127
of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[9] [161]
These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one
another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area [579]
was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear
of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming 241
produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited 312
system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes,
peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

Tn 162 E 162 (only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

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TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1953–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

000 T 162 [464] [166] for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

T 162 592 As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

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As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

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TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

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TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN
(from Barclay, 1954*a*)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

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In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[13] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[10] All population figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon records found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. Unfortunately, the demographic statistics available for Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang were limited to only certain years and then only beginning in 1953. Data for Taiwan as a whole are only readily available for specific years such as census years. For Hsin Hsing itself it will be noted that all population data for 1955 have been omitted. This is because of some radical errors in the official records—not explainable by the Public Office officials.

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[11] The reason for comparing figures of different years in Table 4 is entirely determined by the availability of data. But it is felt that the differences in the years considered do not detract from the validity of the comparison.

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[12] The figures in Tables 9 and 10 are again compared for different years entirely because data for only the years cited were available. Nevertheless, I feel that the sets of data are comparable.

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[13] All land tenure figures for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang are based upon the official records of the government Land Office in Lukang and the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office.

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[14] However, in order to compare the average cultivated landholding, by household, in Hsin Hsing village with that of Pu Yen Hsiang as a whole, it is necessary to use the average landholding figure for the total number of households in Hsin Hsing, i.e., 115 farming and nonfarming households in 1958, since the only readily available figure for the twenty-two villages of the *hsiang* was the total number of households, farming and nonfarming. On this basis then, the average amount of land operated in Hsin Hsing was 0.53 *chia* (1.3 acres) per household, as compared to an average of close to 0.8 *chia* (less than 2 acres) per household for the entire *hsiang*. These figures indicate that, although the average landholding in Hsin Hsing is below the all-*hsiang* average, there is a general, serious land scarcity in the whole area. (A complete breakdown of village land tenure figures appears in Chapter 4.)

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[15] A good deal of mint (used for distilling menthol oil) is grown in the area.

[16] In 1958 officially NT $36 = US $1, but the actual equation on the open market was about NT $45 = US $1. All figures quoted will be at the equivalence of the official NT $36 = US $1.

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Chapter 3: The Land and the Agricultural Process

[1] There are twenty-four solar terms (*er shih sse chieh ch'i*) for the twenty-four periods of fifteen days each which make up a year. For a more complete explanation of the calendrical system, see Fei Hsiao-tung (1939:144–155).

[2] *Kan-ch'ing* is the good or bad sentiment, feeling, or relationship existing between individuals (and, in Hsin Hsing, between relatives as well). Fried (1953:226) observes that "*Kan-ch'ing* differs from friendship in that it presumes a much more specific common interest, much less warmth and more formality of contact, and includes a recognized degree of exploitation." In effect, it is basically a matter of structured obligation. The feeling or sentiment results from satisfied or disappointed expectations of appropriate behavior, and the expected behavior is behavior appropriate to the formal relationship of the two individuals within the social structure.

36: Rowe S-4 (no date) 1955 AF1 China AF1
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Although reliable statistics and a full picture of what is happening behind the Bamboo Curtain is difficult to piece together, it seems probable that the nation's real national income has increased under the Communist regime. This gain, however, must be set off against the drain upon the national economy occasioned by the Korean War, so that benefits that might have accrued to the average man have not, with the higher taxes and the emulation "contributions," been forthcoming. Whether he is a farmer, an industrial worker, or a merchant, the average man is beginning to realize that his actual lot is not what he was promised before the Communists came to power. Instead of living better, he finds himself tightening his belt — in a situation in which he dares not complain about it. Even passive resistance has ceased to be a realistic alternative, because it will be punished just as relentlessly, when it is discovered as the more active types of oppositionist activity; and, under present conditions of surveillance and general lack of privacy, it will be discovered.

The fact that the average Chinese still has some spirit left, despite these grievances, is evidenced by the anecdotes and jokes which continue to filter through the Bamboo Curtain. Says one industrial worker to another, with a sad smile: "In past days, everybody exploited everybody. Nowadays, one man does all the exploiting." A ricksha coolie remarked, "In former days, we were tortoises, slow perhaps but still able to advance. Nowadays, the tortoise has turned over [*fan shêng*, a Communist expression for taking over leadership], and he can no longer budge."

SOCIAL ORDER UNDER THE NATIONALISTS 1949–

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Evacuation to Formosa

Some two million Chinese who felt they could not accept Communism fled to Taiwan (Formosa) with the Nationalist government before the onslaught of the Communist Army in 1949. Many others have since followed. A small number of these were close associates of President Chiang Kai-shek. Some were private business men who believed that state Communism and private enterprise are incompatible. Some were men and women who, because of their personal experience or knowledge of Communism, were afraid to remain inside the Bamboo Curtain. There is a strong presumption that most if not all of them value freedom and democracy.

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The present population of Taiwan is approximately nine million, some seven million of whom are Taiwanese natives of pure Chinese descent. (There are a few non-Chinese aborigines.)

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Effect of Japanese Occupation

To appreciate fully what the National government has accomplished in Taiwan, a word should be said about the state of affairs there just after the Second World War. As of V-J Day, Taiwan's economy was in full chaos. Its industrial plant had been bombed out. The Taiwanese, after 50 years of subjugation by the Japanese, had neither the training nor the experience they needed in order to take over from the Japanese. The island's currency was inflated. Its normal trade was geared to that of Japan, where SCAP was prohibiting the resumption of normal operations.

Japan had taken great pains to teach the Taiwanese to regard their struggling compatriots on the mainland with contempt and disdain. They did not, therefore, expect much help from the Chinese government, and the latter, weakened by eight years of continuous war and thrown off balance by the onslaught of Chinese Communism, could indeed do little to help the once well-off Taiwanese get back on their feet. A further important complication

52:Steiner S-4 (no date) 1951

AF1 China
FORMOSA AD1

652 Thus far, the provincial budgets have been balanced in recent years. How long the improved financial outlook will continue depends on a number of factors. Undue strain on provincial resources has been avoided by using assets brought over from the mainland and by selling government properties. Indirect benefits derived from the Economic Co-operation Administration program, which for the fiscal year 1951 amount to approximately US$40,000,000, help to arrest the inflationary trend of commodities.[29]

LIVING CONDITIONS

511 In the absence of comprehensive statistics establishing the trends of per capita income in Taiwan,[30] the Nationalist policy of improving the people's livelihood may be reflected by the measures which have been taken regarding agriculture, industry, food, and other government-operated productive services

AGRICULTURE

[162] 427 Farming population in Taiwan is estimated to be around 3,800,000. Of this number, 70 per cent are under contract as tenant farmers. Prior to the enforcement of the rent reduction program in April 1949, which set a maximum rental ceiling of 37.5 per cent, the average rental ranged from 46 to 62.5 per cent of the total yield.

In administering the rent reduction program, the provincial authorities fix a standard yield per *chia* (less than 2.5

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[29] "Economic Administration Program in Taiwan," an address by Raymond T. Moyer, chief, ECA, China Mission, before the Chinese Association for the United Nations, March 17, 1951.

[30] Premier Chen Cheng states that per capita income in Taiwan has risen 30 per cent since the termination of Japanese rule (Broadcast of the Voice of Free China, Taipeh, May 12, 1951). Also estimated income in Taiwan for 1950 is NT$1,276,000,000 and for 1951

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